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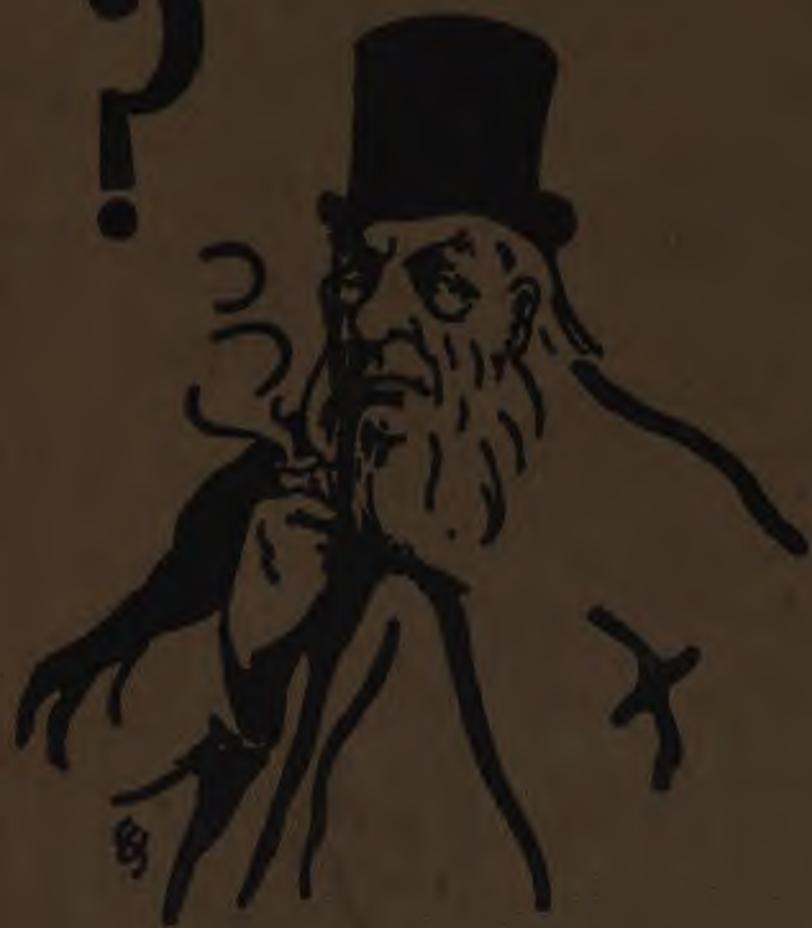
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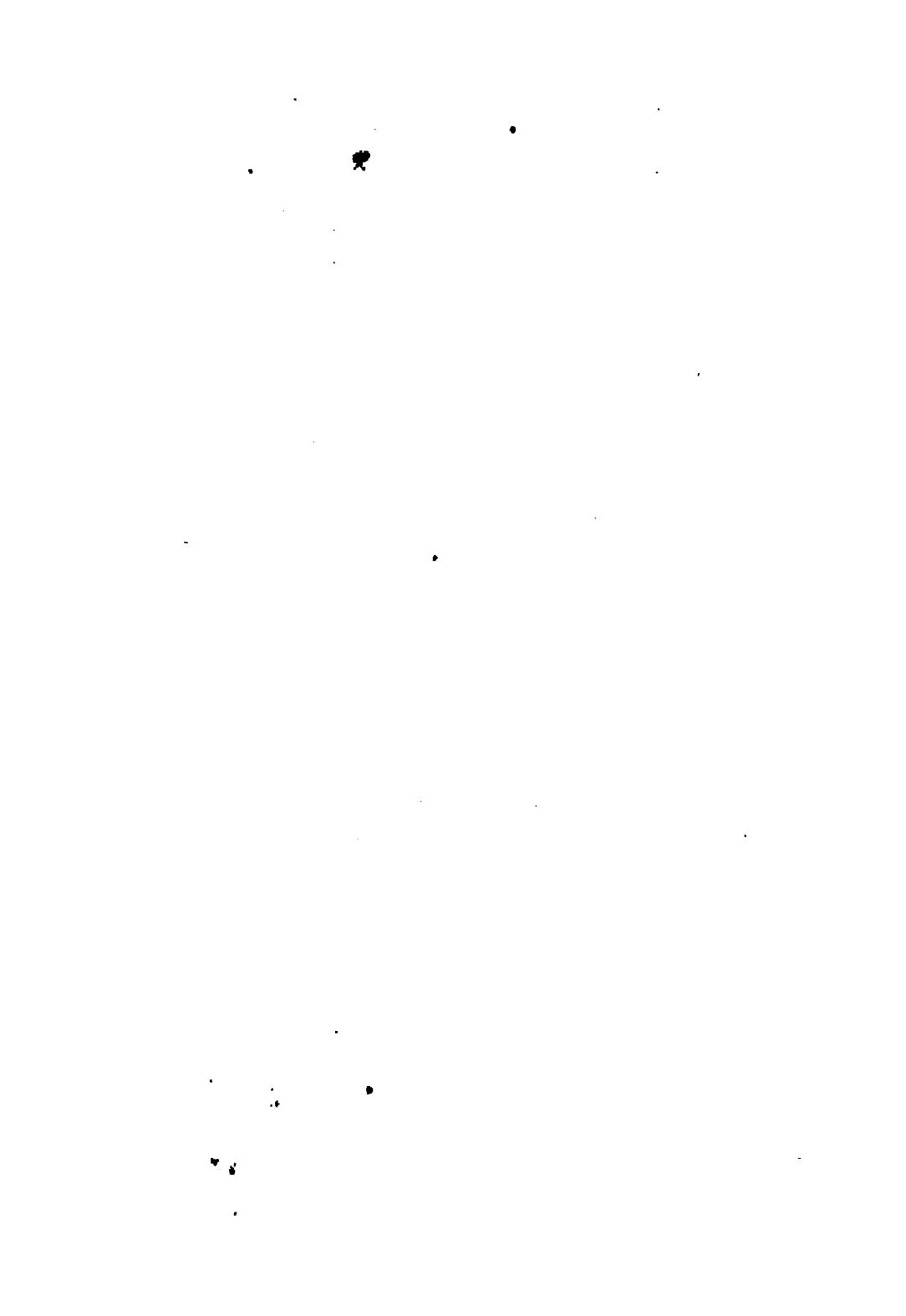
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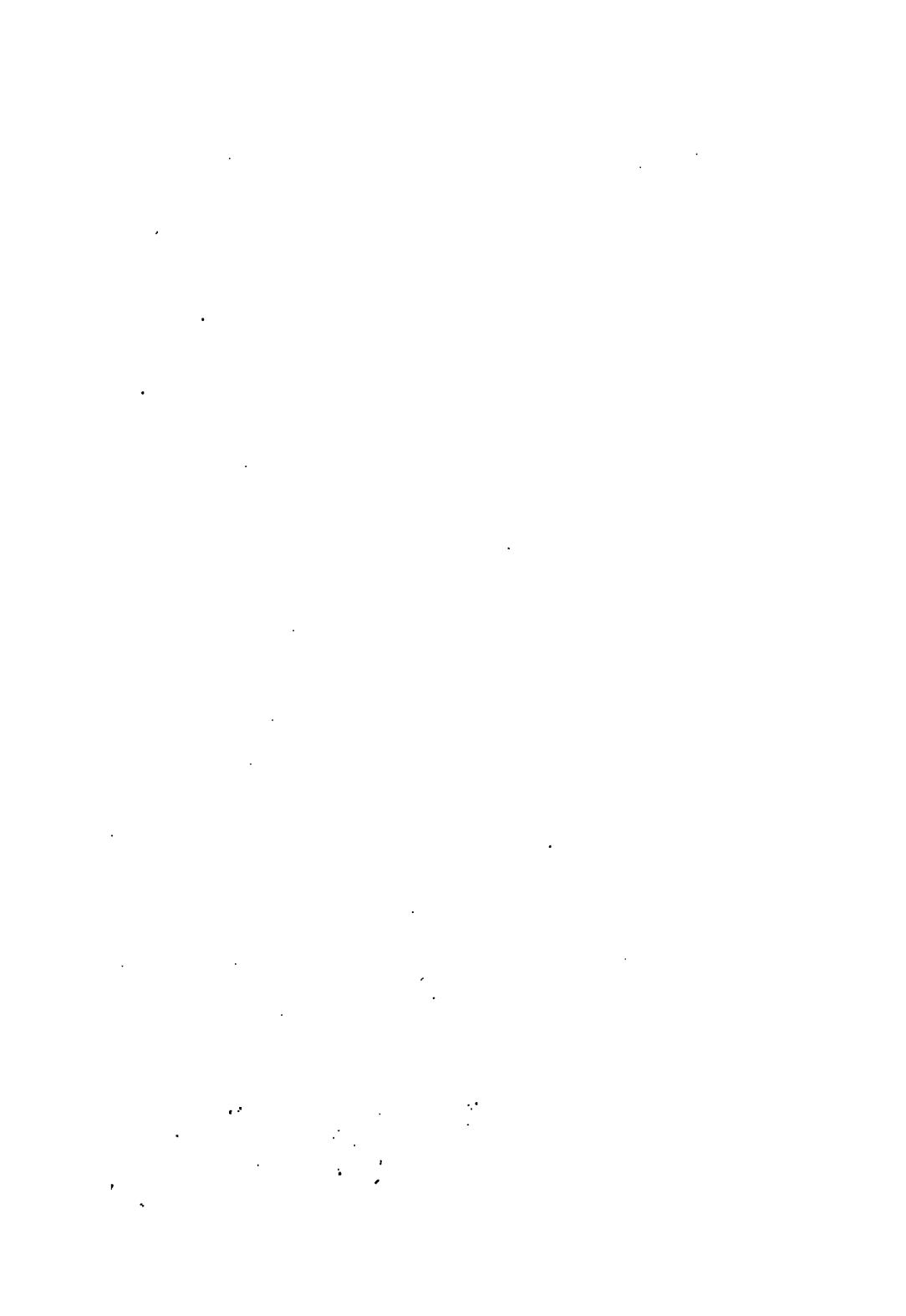


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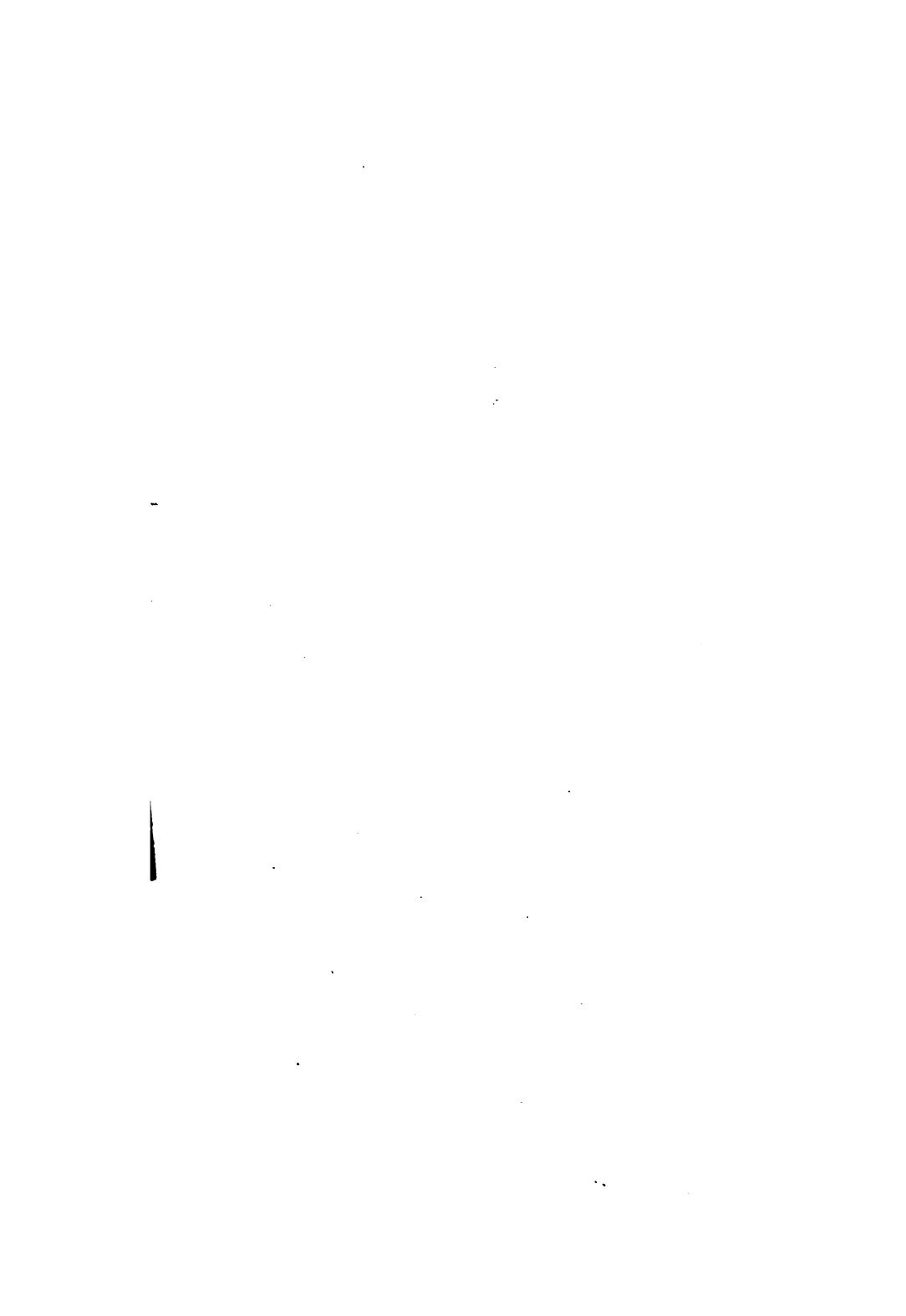
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**PAUL KRUGER.**

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# Queen or President?

By Robert Paul Krueger

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# Queen or President?

An Indictment of Paul Kruger

BY

S. M. GLUCKSTEIN

1/

LONDON

GRANT RICHARDS

1900



## PREFACE

ALWAYS the scene of strife, internecine and racial, South Africa is now passing through the most critical metamorphosis in its eventful history. Nothing less than its retention by or loss to Great Britain is involved in the issue of the Second Anglo-Boer War. Indeed, the British Empire is threatened, and by a semi-independent Republic which could not have existed for good or evil but for the fatuous generosity of English Statesmen. Expressed succinctly, the Boers are biting the hand that fed them. The origin of this great struggle is, as might be expected, the crux with which Englishmen are grappling. The masses in this country never took other than a dilettante interest in South Africa. Imperial Policy in British Colonies had no concern for them; Greater Britain they have ever regarded as a kind of political playground. But the cataract

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before their eyes is removed. They begin to realise that the Colonies do, after all, signify Empire, and that Empire means something more than a fanciful fare of democratic legislation at home. In that discovery there is planted the bulb of a new patriotism—of a sterling devotion to the creed of Anglo-Saxon unity. It is a false patriotism that demands the subjugation of an enemy while still pleading the justice of his cause. The ethics of Party, however, are erratic and incongruous, and that is why the House of Commons is divided against itself when the pulse of the nation throbs sympathetically with the effort to protect Imperial Rights in South Africa. Great Britain is not at war with the Boers with the object of merely redressing local grievances in the Transvaal. Nor are Tommy Atkins, and his equally heroic comrade-in-arms, the Volunteer, glorifying their race with valiant deeds in the battlefield in defence of franchise claims asserted by the Uitlanders. It is the cause of

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Empire, of Liberty, and of Truth that is being championed, and discussion of the facts is too grave a matter to admit of levity or inconsequential parochialism. Let those who will canonise the Boers. Let those who will characterise the Uitlanders as depraved sybarites unfit to step into the shoes of the heterogeneous rulers of the Transvaal. But let it not be forgotten that we have taken up arms in defence of claims pegged out in South Africa for the benefit of posterity. There is only one question at the bottom of all the trouble—whether we are to retain our paramountcy in South Africa, or suffer expulsion from power at the hands of so-called Boer republicans under the tutelage of European adventurers. Mr Kruger has worked assiduously to bring about the downfall of the Imperial factor. He sowed the wind; he will reap the whirlwind. He applied himself to the undermining of British authority, and he has forfeited his own.

It is my opinion that the friends of Mr Kruger are the enemies of the Boer.

## Preface

No man, I venture to think, can be solicitous of the welfare of the unoffending Dopper, if he votes for the Pharisaism of Mr Kruger, and shrugs his shoulders in horror because that senile despot is being driven from the realm of Power. Humanity dictates that inefficiency and corruption shall not be permitted to injure and disorganise a whole population for the benefit of a few, as they did in the Transvaal. Common-sense shudders at the thought that rulers who know not the dividing line between the use and abuse of privilege should a second time be placed in supreme command. And, since there are among the Boers none competent to assume the reins of Government, shall we hesitate to do for the South African Republic what we successfully accomplished in Egypt? In the Transvaal, however, there must be annexation with occupation. Nothing will quicker solve the problem of racial sentimentality.

In the following pages, I present the case for Great Britain, and endeavour to break down some of the arguments which

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are employed to make it appear that the war is unjust and unnecessary. The verdict I leave to the reader, with every confidence that it will be in my favour.

S. M. GLUCKSTEIN.

LONDON, *Feb.* 1900.



## Chapter I

A PERIOD of close upon half-a-century has elapsed since Great Britain last found herself opposed in the battlefield to a white enemy. But the long spell has at last been broken, and the Anglo-Boer war of 1899-1900 will go down to posterity as one of the deadliest conflicts since the earliest days of warfare. We are facing a foe equipped with modern weapons and explosives at least equal—it may be superior—to our own. The Boer troops comprise, in addition to the Burghers of the Transvaal and Orange Free State, and an appreciable following of the Cape Dutch, a horde of alien mercenaries representing almost every nation. Correctly speaking, we are fighting a mixed European army in a country which presents stupendous difficulties to a force compelled to assume the offensive.

Whether occasional disaster is or is not

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inseparable from the operations of a belligerent so situated is a matter of technical interest providing a controversial subject for military experts. Whether, again, the tactics employed by our general officers can or cannot be justified, is no fit point for immediate discussion, even by those who are qualified to express an opinion. Criticism of these considerations is both inopportune and uncharitable. It is not unlikely to discourage the brave soldiers to whom the nation has entrusted the safeguarding of its Colonial Empire.

If, however, we should seal our tongues in this direction, and abstain from analysing too closely the conduct of the campaign, there is one phase of the unfortunate trouble that demands world-wide publicity —that is, the justice of the war itself. Many there are who, while they approve of the campaign being vigorously prosecuted to the end, are far from convinced that the flower of the English army is fighting for a noble and just cause. Is it a war of Boer or British making? Is it, as frequently described, a purposeless effusion

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of blood? It is useless to conjecture what might have occurred if unmistakable pressure from the Colonial Office had been applied five years ago. Then it was that the schism between rulers and ruled in the Transvaal first gave ground for alarm.

The failure of the Imperial Authorities to intervene brought about the Jameson Raid, and this in turn prompted the Boers to hasten their preconceived plan for getting rid of British fetters. It is the old, old story slightly varied. Subjects will be rebels from necessity, when rulers are tyrants from principle. The oppressed may suffer in silence up to a given limit, but when that is passed, and human endurance is exhausted, there is no longer self-restraint. Hence the Raid. The Boer is by nature a tyrant, and lacks power of discrimination. Fate to some extent has been against him, though it must be confessed that he missed a golden opportunity to raise himself from the low standard of civilisation to which he had become inured by isolation from progressive communities.

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It is necessary to appreciate the temperament of the Boers and their old-world customs, in order to comprehend the intricacies of the situation created by them in South Africa. It is noticeable that most of the attempts to stigmatise the war as being unjust and unnecessary take the form of postulatory argument ; whereas, by adhering to simple home truths, a totally different result is obtained. To sift the chaff from the wheat is still no easy matter to the average Englishman, who, probably, has neither the leisure nor the inclination to judge of the righteousness of our appeal to the Sword.

The fault of too many arm-chair critics is to ignore recorded history, and to deal with each event as a new development having no connection with Boer policy in the past. The moment an attempt is made to dispel the illusion that peace was dear to the heart of the Transvaal Dutch, its effect is seen in wrathful reprobation of Mr Rhodes, Mr Chamberlain, Sir Alfred Milner, and sundry South

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African millionaires. How far this attitude is maintained to provide a subject for contentious debate, it is perplexing to say. But in spite of the dogged obstinacy of Boer partisans, both the necessity and the inevitability of the second Anglo-Boer conflict are beginning to be recognised throughout the Empire on which the Sun never sets.

The Boers outwitted us in diplomacy. They were allowed to tyrannise over the Uitlanders so long that the lash of oppression became part and parcel of the official equipment. It should be understood that the term "Boers" does not necessarily convey the entire Dutch-farmer population in the Transvaal. As often as not it means only Mr Kruger and his Hollander sycophants,—a crafty set of wire-pullers and pocket-deep patriots—to whose machinations can be traced the mischief wrought. The average burgher, domiciled far away from the busy hum of business-centres is not a model of intelligence. He possesses that quality in a minor degree. But it is scarcely of the fibre

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which combines the analytical and constructive faculties. Few of the members of the Volksraad belong to a higher intellectual order. Consequently, our dealings have been with an arrogant clique of political jugglers and demagogues. While the acme of our expectations was to secure fair treatment for British subjects in the Republic, Mr Kruger had recourse to finesse with a view to wresting the whip-hand from us as the paramount power in South Africa. That is the secret of the war in a nutshell.

## Chapter II

IN a sociological sense the Boers were from the outset a century behind other white peoples. Before the gold discoveries made the Transvaal what it is, they led a precarious life, untrammelled by the numerous adjuncts of civilisation, and innocent of those conventionalities tending to elevate and refine. They were never industrious. Whether within the four walls of their homesteads or on the principally barren land styled, out of courtesy, farms, the most striking feature was the total disregard of the morrow. Of railways they lived in blissful ignorance. The ancestral ox-waggon attuned to their highest ideal of progress. The Bible formed the alpha and omega of their education; an ancient and broken-down harmonium sufficed to gratify their musical instincts. And the home-life of the Boer does not always correspond to

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a requisite standard of propriety. It is sometimes characterised by conditions that might well shock other than the Nonconformist Conscience. In and adjacent to the dorps and townships efforts are made to rise above the level of the homestead. On the whole, however, the Transvaal Boers have exhibited a curious indifference to the unwritten laws which make for purity of thought and action.

A majority of burghers can be placed under this classification. They are men devoid of any knowledge save that derived from the two Testaments, or from the environments of an existence little superior to that of the raw native. As against their besetting sin of ignorance, they can rightly claim to be hospitable and patriotic to the core. "My country, right or wrong," is with them a guiding principle. Doubtful as it is that three out of every five of these fighting farmers would be capable of explaining why war is being waged, the call to arms has found them ready as of yore.

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I venture to suggest that the aggregation of fighting material was a secret unknown to them. After the last shot has been fired, not a few of the surviving burghers will admit as much. It is a pitiable reflection, for they have blindly and confidently followed the lead of kinsmen struggling, among other things, to retain power for what it was worth in the shape of illicit gain.

The Imperial Government have been deceived in no worse manner by the Transvaal exponents of oligarchism than these simple, if retrograde, citizens of the Republic. Unable to see or think for themselves, they gathered their information and their inspirations from the emissaries of President Kruger. Thus were they taught to despise and hate everything British, and to laud and revere their trusted leaders and official idols.

In Cape Colony, where the Dutch preponderate, the process of race assimilation has been operating successfully for many years. There, social and business intercourse and inter-marriages have combined

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to enable Dutch and English to live on a footing of friendship. There, education and enlightenment have served to break down the barrier of racial prejudice. In the Transvaal, for generations shut out from the rest of the world, sullen in their ignorance, and happy in their self-appreciation, the Transvaal Boers were regarded even by their southern neighbours and kins-folk as an impossible people. With the discovery of gold, hope of regeneration was aroused. The precious metal, sage on-lookers declared, would instil into the Boer mind a new and progressive train of thought.

Mr Kruger, as is the wont of most beggars put on horseback, rode in a direction which he should have avoided. The control he obtained of a treasury filled to repletion brought into play the worst traits of his character. He gathered round him a band of European time-servers whose hatred of Great Britain was only exceeded by a yearning for office in which their antipathies could be turned to practical and remunerative account. There was

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no apparent enmity towards the British when the gold mines gave to the Transvaal for the first time a staple and an important industry. But from the outset there was, figuratively speaking, writ large on the portals of every Government department the legend "No English need apply." Mr Kruger wanted only the money of the Englishman. He raked in the shekels with never a thought of reciprocity, with never a thought of expending them to the Republic's advantage. Whether his fellow-Boers,—that particular class of mental pygmy who, with Mauser rifle and bandolier are fighting for corruption and injustice,—were entitled to the smallest meed of consideration was a matter of no concern to the haughty autocrat at Pretoria. Innumerable blessings might have been showered upon the Dutch and other communities, irrespective of nationality or religious denomination, if, as the architect of the Republic's fortunes, the President had so willed it. But not one of the agencies of advancement—social, political, or economical—did he employ to raise the

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country from the slough of decadence into which early lack of resource, old-time traditions, and petty prejudices had carried it.

## Chapter III

TO lift the blame from the shoulders of the Boers by pleading that stubbornness rather than unappeasable enmity has marked their conduct, is quite unjustifiable. It is also a feeble plea, since it is at variance with the Dutch version. The case for the Boers is altogether a bad one. There is not even the extenuating circumstance that the Transvaal Government was composed of individuals who, like the bulk of the burghers, were wholly unenlightened, illiterate, and, only too often, degenerate. Nor can it be urged that rigid conservatism was the root and branch of the trouble fomented in the secret Council Chamber of Mr Kruger. If the struggles and exertions of this clique had had as their basis freedom for freedom's sake, they would be entitled to all commiseration. But they have persistently and consistently fought against freedom in the name of freedom. Their range

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of view has always extended far beyond that form of independence which it is claimed would have made them a peaceful and self-respecting people. To-day, even, their anxiety to bring into existence an unfettered Transvaal is but a subterfuge for raising Dutch and lowering British prestige in South Africa.

One fact has clearly been brought home to us by the Boer revolt. It is that, in a country like South Africa, at any rate in the territory stretching between Cape Town and the Zambesi, with its strangely mixed nationalities, there cannot be two masters. Especially does this view induce acceptance when it is considered that the widest of gulfs distinguishes the policy of one from the other. The abolition of slavery, followed by the Great Trek northward of the Boers in 1836, supplies, sixty-four years later, a graphic picture of cause and effect. The spirit of resentment in respect of interference with their complete liberty has ever since been exhibited by the people who immigrated North of the Vaal River to escape

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British influence. There is to be said for the organisers and followers of the Great Trek that their motives were pure. They asked only to be left to work out their own destiny without let or hindrance from outside. British rule was distasteful to their primitive and preconceived notions of government, and to their sensitiveness to restraint. Their descendants, if they have inherited some of the qualities which ought to have provoked sympathy for their forefathers, have developed others which are ill adapted to the present advanced age.

The Boer, as he is seen and understood at the end of the nineteenth century, stands on a very different plane from the members of every other race. He cannot fall into line with modern doctrines pursued in the interests of civilisation. So far removed is he from the rest of white men that he is able to reconcile adhesion to the teachings of the Bible with practices totally opposed to scriptural belief. Out of such material have we attempted to mould into our own shape, and imbue

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with our own thoughts, the taciturn and unprogressive pastoral community in the South African Republic. The failure to effect the fusion is freely attributed to the mistaken methods of the Colonial Office. Applied to the period from the signing of the 1881 Convention down to the outbreak of hostilities, that assertion falls to the ground. Earlier mistakes certainly were made, but in all our dealings with Mr Kruger since the retrocession, we have manifested an unmistakable desire to co-operate with him for our mutual good. Heedless of the innumerable occasions upon which this country has been compelled to remind the Transvaal of its treaty obligations, Mr Kruger has never deviated from the path of open defiance, and bearing upon the present state of affairs, that is an important point to place in the forefront.

At first Mr Kruger was prompted to trade upon his weakness; latterly he regarded his accumulation of the munitions of war as a guarantee against serious consequences. In any event, to

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describe the war as a capitalists' or financiers' war, a form of dialectics adopted by some critics, is illogical in the light of history. Need it be observed that these capitalists and financiers may be numbered on the fingers of two hands; that the effect upon them of the ruthless methods of administration at Pretoria was comparatively infinitesimal; and that the force of the hardships was principally felt, and principally resented, by what may be termed the working population of the Rand. If it were a capitalists' war then, the implication is that the members of Lord Salisbury's Cabinet have descended to sins of commission, not only subversive of the Nation's trust in them, but of integrity also. If it were a capitalists' war, it could only have been brought about by collusion between the South African millionaires and Her Majesty's Ministers. Again, assuming the existence of such a conspiracy to intensify the agitation for reforms, the conspirators would stand convicted as fools as well as knaves, for

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they could not well overlook the possibility of a deadly conflict when wielding threats of armed intervention.

If the motive had been to spoil for a fight, how comes it that only after an urgent appeal from Natal did the Imperial Authorities consent to the despatch of reinforcements? Whatever the official ignorance as to the military capacity of the Boers, it was no secret that the British garrisons would have to be largely augmented if a diplomatic settlement failed. To suggest, therefore, so base a motive is, to put it mildly, curious. Opinions differ as to the responsibility of the whole Cabinet for the task we have undertaken; a favourite theme with a certain class is the condemnation of Mr Chamberlain. The Colonial Secretary, it is airily stated, rendered peace impracticable, hopeless even. Broadly speaking, he has been found guilty of leaving no means of escape for Mr Kruger. This sweeping indictment involves a consideration which apparently has not occurred to its authors. Mr Chamberlain is but

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one of many ministers forming the Cabinet. In the critical position that developed after the abortive conference at Bloemfontein, he must have held frequent consultation with his colleagues, and the line he pursued from that period was obviously approved by all the members of the Government. To carry the matter to its logical conclusion, if Mr Chamberlain be guilty of causing the war, he must either have exercised a peculiarly magic influence over the rest of Her Majesty's advisers, or have withheld from them material facts with the object of effecting his alleged nefarious purpose. Was ever a proposition more astounding? Ministers, of course, like humanity in general, are fallible. Errors of judgment are common to the wisest men. But the sneering insinuation that any statesman in office could deliberately betray his country into a serious war in order to gratify his personal feelings and inclinations is inscrutable from any stand-point.

## Chapter IV

THERE would have been no Jameson Raid, and no War, we are told, if the Transvaal did not possess Gold Mines. So far as I am aware, the assertion has never been contested. It is and must remain uncontested. The Gold Mines are the original source of all the South African trouble. There is, however, an essential difference between the interpretation which cynics weave from that fact, and the explanation as it should be. They imply, and would have it believed unreservedly, that lust of Gold, and territorial aggrandisement are at the bottom of the Anglo-Boer rupture. Of such do they make levers of opprobrium. But it is not a charge that need suffuse the cheeks of the most susceptible Englishman with the blush of shame.

In any society, and in any political atmosphere, the statement that we are at

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war with the Boers because of the Gold Mines must produce a ready echo of endorsement. Mr Kruger has amassed a handsome fortune, in part by questionable means, out of those same Gold Mines. Nothing else attracted men and money to the Transvaal. The big alien population of the Rand, drawn from all quarters of the globe, dreamed, perhaps, dreams of untold wealth. In migrating to the great mining centre, it is evident they were less interested in the Boers than in the rich auriferous deposits which Nature had inconsiderately secreted within their borders. In the absence of Gold Mines, therefore, Johannesburg would have had no existence ; in the absence of Johannesburg there would not have been an Uitlander population to contribute nine-tenths of the Republic's Revenue ; and in the absence of an Uitlander population no grievances were possible. Why, in the circumstances, the advocates of the "Gold-Mines" theory should strive so indefatigably to press it home, is beyond all comprehension.

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Equally ridiculous is the stock phrase that the leading Uitlanders sought War so that they might "steal" the Gold Mines from the Boers. This is a dominant note in the voicings of those who inveigh against the "needlessness and injustice" of the unfortunate call to arms ; and it is edifying to note the pompous way in which this charge of attempted robbery by a trick has been used as a party squib. Any one acquainted with the subject will not need to be told that the Boers do not possess Gold Mines. They are, or were, nominally the governing body of a Republic within whose boundaries these rich treasure-houses of Gold have their location. The Mines, however, are the property of European capitalists and investors. They were bought, paid for, and worked with European capital, and morally and legally alone belong to their purchasers.

It was only with reference to the working conditions that the Transvaal Government enjoyed the right of control. To steal the Mines had been impossible, and

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there will be no change of ownership, it is necessary to add, when British rule displaces Boer maladministration. Each Mine, then as now, will belong to the Capitalists or Investors who have acquired it. What we are going to witness is simply the transference of authority, the abuse of which in the past has been a byword and a reproach. That, obviously, means a great deal, but it is not theft. Such an accusation betrays a disingenuousness that is too transparent to hoodwink the intelligent public. The Mines were always viewed by the Boers as instruments of extortion ; the Uitlander as the milch cow who would furnish them with the strength to turn upon their benefactors.

## Chapter V

A NOTHER unreasoning argument used by over-zealous partisans of the Boers is that "we have gone to War because the Transvaal refused British subjects the opportunity to denaturalise themselves." That is to say, according to what is, fortunately, a very humble minority, we elected to sacrifice valuable lives and many millions of money to secure the franchise for the Uitlanders. No asseveration could be wider of the mark. Sir Alfred Milner, for the purposes of discussion, and to facilitate the conclusion of a pacific settlement with Mr Kruger, temporarily crystallised the Uitlander grievances under the head of the "franchise." The High Commissioner had grasped the position with characteristic ability, and perceiving the only remedy for Uitlander ills, prescribed it much to the annoyance of Mr Kruger. As a fact, the

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proposed five years' franchise was intended only to begin the healing process, and upon the acceptance or rejection of its instrumentality much depended, for the very excellent reason that it compelled Mr Kruger to show his hand. Resourceful and crafty, Mr Kruger carved for himself a temporary way out of the predicament, by offering a five years' franchise conditional upon nothing less audacious than the revocation of Great Britain's right to govern the Republic's external relations.

The five years' franchise would have left not a little to be desired, though by agreeing to it the Transvaal Executive would have made away with the impression that they were impervious to the demand for any settlement which did not include the abandonment of British influence. Sir Alfred Milner's franchise proposal actually brought to a head the unhealthy sore of race hatred. It demonstrated that the Boers, so far from seeking peace, entertained the strongest leaning for a conflict. Their inflexibility

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of will, their disdainful resolve not to yield, save on their own terms, could but lead to war. Not because it was essential to the happiness of the Uitlanders that they should obtain a parliamentary vote, but because it demonstrated, in conjunction with the offensive measures adopted by the Transvaal Government, the approach of an alarming development. Stretch the truth as one might, it is the merest travesty of words to dissociate the inexorable stubbornness of Mr Kruger from his enormous accumulation of arms and ammunition. Supposing we had accepted the seven years' franchise (Mr Kruger's conditional offer of a shorter period being altogether out of question), what would have happened? What form of guarantee was necessary to ensure respect for such a qualification? Obviously, something more substantial than Mr Kruger's signature. His bond has times without number been proved to be valueless. No Treaty with the South African Republic could be worth the paper it was written on unless the strict

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observance of its stipulations were secured in a satisfactory manner.

It rather looks as if Mr Chamberlain lost an opportunity to expose the wily tactics of President Kruger by declining the seven years' franchise. For, once having agreed to a septennial period, he could have torn off the mask hiding the presidential insincerity by an accompanying condition such as, say, the dismantling of the forts at Pretoria and Johannesburg. It goes without saying that no guarantee of this kind would have been forthcoming. The deadlock had to occur, for Mr Kruger had so ordained it. I am not so sure that its occurrence synchronised exactly with his best wishes. Circumstances compelled him to play an unenviable part in the drama of Anglo-Boer relations. Against constant and increasing pressure he was called upon to preserve an outward appearance of saintly rectitude, while behind the scenes he was preparing to stain with human blood his own elastic conscience. It is not as if the Boer enmity towards

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Great Britain had its origin in the Jameson Raid. It did not require the importation of 175,000 Mauser rifles, countless field pieces of the latest pattern, and a very liberal supply of ammunition to protect the Transvaal against a second Raid. But that invasion afforded the pretext and the covering ground for the carrying out of a scheme long ago hatched. Wild horses would not have dragged the Boers from their determination to fight for absolute independence, and to become a Power strong enough in every respect to compete with Great Britain in South Africa. Mr Kruger may even have conjured up fantastical pictures of a Boer nation figuring as a factor in international politics, and ready at all times to obstruct the advance of British Imperial expansion from end to end of the African Continent.

## Chapter VI

THE burning desire of the Boers to cut a road through to the littoral is yet another link in the chain of Krugerian duplicity. They wanted their own seaport. They wanted a right - of - way for importation of arms and ammunition and recruits for the consummation of their fatuous dream. Perfectly well did Mr Kruger know that, failing an uninterrupted passage to the coast, he could only fall back on the first Bond Ministry that would come to his aid in Cape Colony. He has had to accept this alternative. The Imperial Government yielded to his importunities by permitting Swaziland to be annexed to the Transvaal. At the same time, our Ministers were cognisant of the covetous eye with which "Oom Paul" regarded Kosi Bay, a natural harbour on the East Coast, separated from the Swaziland border by a strip of territory forming Amatonga-

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land. It was bad diplomacy to part with Swaziland. In doing so Great Britain threw overboard a race of natives who have always been her staunch allies in the hour of need. Albeit, it was a concession to the Transvaal—a concession, so far as Mr Kruger bid us believe, that accorded with his highest ambition.

The Boers wanted this additional territory as a stepping-stone to the acquisition of an outlet to the ocean. They wanted that outlet for the purposes of war with the Power to whom they have stood *de jure* in subordinate relationship. Our formal annexation of Amatongaland and the consequent frustration of their design intensified the feeling towards us. Mr Kruger had grasped at the shadow and lost the substance. The Transvaal had saddled itself with responsibilities it was only anxious to incur as a means to an end which the Imperial Authorities rendered impossible of attainment. About what would have happened if we had not coloured Amatongaland red on the Map there can be no manner of doubt. The

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importation, through Kosi Bay, of modern weapons of war, ammunition, stores, and mercenaries would have been carried out on a much larger scale than *via* Cape Town, Natal, and Delagoa Bay. There would have been no ultimatum until the fullest requirements for a conflict had been satisfied. Briefly, there would have confronted the Mother Country later a position that might easily have cost us the loss of South Africa.

Checkmated, partially, as the Boers were, in their plans, they have nevertheless set us a formidable task. Only by years of preparation could they have achieved such great military strength and an organisation so perfect and so extensive as we now know it to be. It is the merest sophistry to feign belief in the statement that the Boer accumulation of war trappings was commenced as recently as 1896. Certainly before the Jameson Raid, the designs for the forts around Pretoria were passed, and the orders for construction given. How does this reconcile with the theory that the simple, God-fearing Dopper had

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merely acted on the defensive? "But," says the Boer sympathiser, "the official figures of revenue and expenditure point to the principal outlay on 'Military' and 'Secret Service' account as having taken place since the unfortunate incident at Doornkop." Precisely so, but by way of rejoinder it may be asked: "Can the official figures be relied on?" Is the Boer so artless as to be above suspicion in the matter of his accounts? Would it not be safe for the official auditors to ignore such a practice as saddling "public works" with the cost of sundry guns? or adding to the item "official salaries" a few thousand pounds which had been spent in the same direction? *Quis custodiet custodes?*

However, there is no need to discount the integrity of the Boer to prove that he determined upon war long antecedent to the invasion of the Transvaal. The attitude of defiance displayed by the Republic for quite a decade past alone testifies to the intention of its Executive. Numerous and frequent were the infringements of the Convention; unmistakable the con-

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tempt for remonstrance not accompanied by a show of force. Throughout this period, with its intermittent expeditions and wasted diplomatic notes, the Boer plan for giving birth to Dutch supremacy was being matured. With the advent into office of an Afrikander Bond Cabinet, Mr Kruger had his burden lightened. Dr Leyds, too, did his share of work on the Continent. He had a free hand, a long purse, and, as events have shown, the added accomplishment of an unveracious tongue.

The discovery that we had been outmanœuvred, found us also unprepared for the least uncomfortable emergency. Our Intelligence Department either did not know or did not heed what was occurring, and all too tardily did the Colonial Office awake to the danger ahead. The steady concentration of Imperial troops in South Africa at the eleventh hour warned the enemy that the time to strike was then or never—and they struck. Now, the popular doctrine of Boer supporters is that war could have been avoided: perfectly true

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—though upon what terms? Nothing less than the abandonment of our controlling influence over the external relations of the Transvaal. Our consent to the repeal of Clause IV. would have created the South African Republic a Sovereign International State, and as such it would have blossomed into a hotbed of foreign intrigue against British rule in South Africa.

Following close upon the heels of complete Boer independence, we should have witnessed an increase of oppression as regards the Uitlanders, of unprovoked confiscation of Uitlander property, and the promulgation of laws imposing worse than the servility of slaves upon British Aliens. Purchased at this heavy cost, was peace preferable to war? But peace was always impossible. The Boers, or, at least, the Government, in collusion with Dutch and German Mercenaries, would hear of it only on one condition—namely, on the gift to them of their irrevocable political emancipation. Just as they clamoured for Swaziland, with an eye to reaching the sea-board, so they yearned for absolute

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immunity from constraint with a view to the substitution of a Dutch for the English flag from end to end of South Africa.

## Chapter VII

IS it feasible that the Orange Free State would have become an ally of the Transvaal but for the promised reward of Dutch supremacy? On every other hypothesis the Republic with whom we had no cause of quarrel had everything to lose and nothing to gain. Indeed, President Steyn's compact to co-operate with Mr Kruger was neither more nor less than a bold essay to win over the wavering Dutch in Cape Colony. There was no doubt as to the efficacy of this move in Pretoria or Bloemfontein. If it did not succeed in the first instance, it could hardly fail of its purpose, the Boer leaders assumed, when the combined Dutch forces had conquered the weak garrisons they had to oppose early in the campaign. We have here, in reality, the Key to Boer policy. Without a general rising of the Dutch outside the Republics,

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it was perfectly clear that other extraneous assistance alone could extricate the defenders of corruption and despotism from their difficulty. Such assistance could come from but one quarter,—the European Powers jealous of British expansion. Dr Leyds was the man chosen to coquette with our neighbours. With the mandate of a Minister plenipotentiary he was authorised to canvass official opinion in all the important capitals. The Boers neither sought nor expected active support from any Foreign Government. What they apparently asked for was the comforting assurance that, in the last extremity, they could rely on European intervention to save them from themselves. Presumably, therefore, the advances of the ex-State Secretary met with a friendly response. For, in the absence of encouraging receptions, he must have advised his Government that to provoke war was hazardous, not to say fatal. Metaphorically speaking, then, European intervention was deemed to constitute the Boers' last line of defence. If they had

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some inkling that party cleavage on this side might operate to their advantage, the all-sufficient prospect of timely help from one or more of the big Powers was the determining factor in favour of hostilities. In all probability, they still rest on that broken reed. While events recently may have shaken their confidence somewhat, the implicit trust in the ability of Dr Leyds is sure to fire them anew with hopefulness.

The closer the study of the doings of the Boers, the stronger the proof that their resolve to fight was no new impulse. It ought to have been manifest long ago that, sooner or later, they would make a dash, not for freedom, as we understand the term, but for that sort of freedom which rides rough-shod over the unprotected. The Zulu War was undertaken by Great Britain largely in the interests of the Transvaal. Mark the gratitude of Mr Kruger and his official colleagues. Following close upon the heels of the Zulu campaign the Boers revolted against British occupation, and the war of 1880-81 was the outcome.

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The history of South Africa from then till now teems with incidents indicative of their intractable character. Their continual raiding of native locations, and the brutal atrocities of which they were guilty in respect of those natives, had its culmination in the Warren Expedition of 1884. From that year it has fallen to the lot of the Colonial Office to protest over and over again against the passing of laws contravening both the spirit and the letter of the 1884 Convention. The Aliens Expulsion Act may be cited as a notable example. The closing of the Drifts was an even more flagrant breach of the Treaty terms. Further proof of the hostile attitude of the Transvaal will be found in those generators of disquiet, the Dynamite and Railway monopolies, in the constant stiffening of the franchise qualification, and in the contemptuous rejection of every appeal for justice emanating from the Uitlanders. It is from such a march of events that the critic who takes exception to our South African policy professes to glean his supporting evidence. That is to say,

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he takes the uncompromising defiance of a dependent state towards its superior to establish indubitably on behalf of the former a peaceful aim.

There are some who go still further, and contend that the Boer failure to observe Treaty obligations was due to ignorance, and should have commanded our pity rather than our scorn. By the same premiss it would be easy to prove that every criminal is an angel in disguise, and every dipsomaniac the incarnation of virtue. Unhappily, however, for those who resort to it, the actions of the Boers have, since 1884, been shaped for the best part by educated and cultured Europeans, and individuals so well trained for the battle of life cannot be accused of inability to distinguish between right and wrong. Dr Leyds must have practically committed to memory the terms agreed to in the 1884 Convention. And yet he has unhesitatingly made himself a party to the most glaring breaches of that Agreement. Is it to be wondered that loyal Englishmen cannot perceive in this kind of proceeding a

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touching solicitude for friendship? Is it a matter for astonishment that we should cast suspicion upon the Boer protestations of good faith when their every move has borne the stamp and the reflex of racial antagonism in its most acute form?

## Chapter VIII

THE secret agents of the Transvaal Executive were busy poisoning the minds of Cape Dutchmen long before Dr Jameson embarked on his unjustifiable raid. The efforts to engender disaffection were increased subsequently. Not merely in South Africa and on the Continent, but in England itself did these Boer hirelings seek by propagating false statements to win sympathy for their Masters. How well they did their duty is now pretty evident. The astuteness of one agent, an Englishman or Irishman furnished with a mandate to discredit Rhodesia and all things Rhodesian in the press of the United Kingdom, is worthy of especial notice. He had graduated for his delicate responsibility behind the bar of a Bulawayo Canteen, and, wielding a facile pen, his "copy" found a place of honour in various journals not friendly

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disposed towards Mr Rhodes. Sir William Harcourt, in the infancy of his political career, said that history was made in public-houses. Why not the history of Rhodesia in local Canteens? No stone was left unturned by the Boers to enable them to pose as the injured persons. By assuming the *rôle* of Martyrs, they succeeded in blinding most lookers-on to the true inwardness of their deep-rooted plans.

If their aim was peace, is it not passing strange that they should have engaged the services of secret agents to further their anti-British Crusade, and appropriated large sums of money to preparations for War. On our part, the spirit of conciliation was never wanting. Whatever the political shade of the Government in power, we have striven to behave fairly and even leniently for the sake of peace. Not one of our European neighbours, if it had occupied the same relation to the Boers as Great Britain, would have displayed the attitude of forbearance maintained by us under circumstances of

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exceptional provocation. Less than a year after the Convention of 1884 was substituted for that of 1881, the Boers had forgotten, or wilfully ignored, their obligations. They have since made numerous attempts to kick over the traces, and in no single instance have they evinced other than a deceptive outward semblance of an earnest desire for harmony.

Formerly they devoted their attention to the native Tribes, or indulged in internecine quarrelling for the want of something better to do. But the mineral wealth within their doors opened up new possibilities. The stranger from afar was bound to be attracted by Gold, if not by the cordial invitation extended to those who could be of assistance to a poverty-stricken State by introducing capital or energy. Most probably, too, he had a hazy notion that the fixed conditions defining the rights of British subjects in the Transvaal would be adhered to. With the lapse of months and years he was to be painfully undeceived. While

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yet the extent and permanence of the auriferous deposits were unsolved and insoluble problems, the screw of oppression was not violently turned. In those days, the Boer officials, from President Kruger down to the humblest employé of the Government, were principally occupied with the congenial problem, how to make money. Whether they effected their purpose honestly or dishonestly was of the smallest moment. Paul Kruger found it profitable to curry favour with sundry concession-hunters. His subordinates realised that, unlike their lord and master, they must be thankful for small mercies. Palm oil, therefore, proved the most successful lubricant in respect of the official machinery.

It was necessary to propitiate by monetary offerings one or other of the officials. If it happened to be imperative that a particular document should forthwith reflect the signature of a given office-bearer, the work was expedited according to the generosity of the applicant. It was a case eternally of "no bribe, no service."

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The one and only channel to the official heart was through the official pocket. By the enforcement of this process the salaries paid by Government were largely augmented, and the infection spread from department to department in the service. The question invariably resolved itself into one of price. Excepting, perhaps, the judiciary, no one in office appeared to set any great store by his reputation. Curiously enough, the system of levying tribute upon the victims of relentless misrule never came to be included in the Uitlander grievances. For one thing, it was useless to challenge the incapacity of and undisguised corruption practised by the satellites of Mr Kruger. On the other hand, the Uitlanders were themselves reaping the benefit of the general prosperity. The progress of the mining industry, if it principally enriched the Republic, the exalted Officers of State, and the alien Capitalist, was, in the beginning, in a lesser degree a source of profit to everyone else. Even in these halcyon days there were frequent murmurs

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of complaint as to palpable defects in the laws, and because, contrary to right or agreement, the Boers insisted on calling the tune while the alien population were compelled to pay the piper.

## Chapter IX

THE Goldfields being young, and the Government of the Country new to the glamour of sudden affluence, due allowance was made for all shortcomings. To representations urging the necessity for various reforms, Mr Kruger replied with promises which left no doubt of his honourable intentions. Those promises, amounting in some instances to solemn pledges, were not redeemed. On the contrary, fresh burdens were created to emphasise the growing impatience and discontent. Still, the people of Johannesburg did not despair. They had no valid cause to suppose that Mr Kruger was designedly acting in bad faith, and they accordingly continued in a courteous and constitutional manner to lay before the Executive their many grievances. Month after month, and year after year did the Uitlanders wait in vain for the smallest crumb of encourage-

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ment. Meanwhile the revenue and gold production of the Transvaal had been growing by leaps and bounds, and although the construction of railways connecting the Goldfields with the sea-boards at Cape Town, Durban, and Lorenzo Marques, afforded ample facilities for economical working, only the rich mines could be rendered payable. Why? Because, forsooth, the so-called Government of the Transvaal deemed it politic to retard the progress of the industry. Not satisfied with sanctioning iniquitous monopolies in order that they might the sooner grow rich, their infatuation for intolerant rule found vent in various outrageous restrictions. As if it was not bad enough that the Uitlanders should have been denied a voice in the affairs of the Republic, they were forbidden to exercise the very modest rights of taxed citizens, even as regards the municipal Government of Johannesburg. In this particular, as in all others, the influence of Mr Kruger's nominees was paramount. The shadow of depotism crept in everywhere, not excepting in the

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curriculum of public schools. An effectual liquor law was ineffectually administered, because a direct check on native excesses threatened pecuniary loss to the holders of a Concession for the manufacture of spirits. The native Pass Law supplied another grievance; and so the oppression continued, until the local disabilities imposed upon the alien population were infinitely more exasperating than the denial of a political status.

I do not propose to enter into the minutiae of the Uitlander grievances. Nearly every one, including those who know little else pertaining to the South African question, is acquainted with the countless genuine plaints of the alien. Specific reference to one or other of the burdens cast upon a defenceless community is only necessary in order to unwind the tangled skein of Boer duplicity. At one stage of the negotiations all Europe apparently reproved Mr Kruger for his foolish obstinacy. That was before the Boers had disclosed their fighting strength. The change of tone with the outbreak of

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hostilities is only another way of expressing displeasure at the prospect of more territory being added to British possessions. French and German investors, who have something at stake in the Transvaal, do not complain. Under British rule there will be ample security for their investments, and in all probability a better return on their outlay following the introduction of honest government. The partisanship of the foreign press would be a deep mystery if it could not be explained by the unpleasant contemplation to our neighbours of a still larger British Empire. Wherever the Union Jack waves, foreigners are permitted to compete with us and to enjoy far more liberty than they extend to our kith and kin. In the Transvaal and in the Free State the metamorphosis which is about to take place will be no less to their advantage than to our own. It is these nations, claiming to have been instrumental in forwarding civilisation and culture, that immorally support the Boers in their desperate efforts to maintain a system of corruption and to check the tide

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of mundane progress. Mr Kruger will soon be sorry he was not saved from such friends. Their sympathy and his own Machiavellian principles have assuredly led him to the altar of destruction.

## Chapter X

FOR the situation preceding the war there is no recorded parallel. It verily bristled with knotty points defying diplomatic treatment, as latter-day statesmen practise the art. A dead set had been made against a constantly growing population of aliens. As they increased in number, so the iron bands circumscribing their liberty of action were tighter drawn. The adamantine Boer only recognised the despised foreigners as a source of revenue. As human beings in the full possession of their faculties, never. Until the invasion of the Transvaal, the worst offence of the Uitlander was in being born of English parents. There was no other cause of dissension so far as Boers were concerned. But to the Dopper vision no demon from the sulphurous regions could combine so many evil qualities. With an eye to the main

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chance, however, the rooinek (red-neck) was welcomed for what he would contribute to the exchequer. Dearly did he have to pay for the privilege of making the Transvaal his adopted home. Minus police protection, minus security for life or property; called upon to bolster up Mr Kruger in his money-grabbing schemes; impotent to raise a protest against official extortion; his lips compulsorily sealed to denunciation of any sort of reprehensible conduct; and his solitary hope promises of reforms garnished with Biblical quotations,—such is the exaggerated word-picture of the British subject in the South African Republic. Could serfdom go further?

The sufferers had in no way, by deed or word, merited this Draconian punishment. They were guilty only of approaching the President with becoming respect in pursuit of administrative changes designed to benefit the mining industry, and, therefore, the Country. That was the sum-total of their sinning. If Mr Kruger had been sincere in his utterances to the

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deputations from Johannesburg little trouble could have ensued. He kept these representatives of the oppressed travelling to and fro; and fed them on promises until the accommodating digestion of the Uitlanders revolted against that diet. And, as it took ten whole years to thoroughly infuriate the residents of the Rand, they cannot reasonably be accused of impatience. Seemingly, one of the pre-arranged moves on the Transvaal board was to incite the aliens to rebellion when the income from taxation would stand the strain of abnormal expenditure on armaments. This object achieved, the rest was plain sailing. Under the guise of protecting the State, which sober judgment fully endorsed, preparations for obtaining the coveted prize of real independence were actively pursued. The disregard of honourable undertakings, written or verbal, by the Transvaal Government could but have had its origin in the resolve to bring about the abrogation of the Anglo-Boer Treaty. Never a finger was moved to

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check the scandalous extravagance, and malfeasance of the authorities. And, so far from any desire to throw oil upon the troubled waters, Mr Kruger went out of his way to hurl insult at the English. In calling for tenders for public works the official notice expressly stipulated that the material used should be supplied from the European Continent and not from British territory. What does the Boer partisan say to this vulgar aggressiveness? Perhaps he will describe it as pity-inspiring ignorance. But he will hardly have the temerity to contend that Mr Kruger is so lamentably stupid not to understand that to boycott one's neighbours is hardly calculated to secure their friendship. There was undoubtedly method in the simplicity or madness of "Oom Paul." Foreign material had to be conveyed in foreign vessels, it had to be landed at Delagoa Bay, and thence by the Netherlands Railway to the Transvaal. It is instructive to note the significance of the boycott. By making it a *sine qua non* that no British product

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should be used by any Government contractor, the vassal State succeeded in adding affront to injury, and to thus aid the scheme for throwing off the Imperial yoke. Similarly, in diverting freight from British ports the Executive hoped to expedite their object, for every ton of traffic passing over the Netherlands line meant so much more towards the purchase of powder and shot. By way of elucidation I should state that the interest of the Transvaal Government in the Netherlands Railway is no less than 85 per cent. The concessionaires are not only engaged in the administration of their own line. They also work the Cape and Natal extensions from the British boundaries. The concession itself was a smouldering ember of complaint from the start. Both the tariffs imposed and the profits made by the Company are indefensible, and the terms of the concession are so iniquitous as to breed nothing but contempt for those who sanctioned it. It is of a piece, however, with the Dynamite

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Monopoly, and the other base legislative enactments which were given existence to accelerate the contest for supremacy.

## Chapter XI

“**H**E who maketh haste to be rich shall not be innocent,” is a quotation of which Mr Kruger, saturated as he is with religious teaching, has never made use.

Both the Netherlands Railway Concession and the Dynamite Monopoly enriched his pocket at the expense of his reputation. He might almost have reasoned with himself that his spiritual welfare was never in jeopardy so long as the sundry thousands he filched from the Uitlanders, through the medium of the concessionaires, simultaneously furthered his other great project. The Dynamite Monopoly principally furnished a cause of friction because of the bare-faced manner in which the Government sustained it, contrary to the advice of their best friends. The Industrial Commission recommended its expropriation, among other suggested reforms. Nor could the

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members of that body be reproached with partiality, save in the interests of the Government, seeing that they were, for the most part, nominated by the Dutch authorities. The financial effect of the monopoly may be told in a few words. For explosives indispensable to quartz mining, the Rand Companies were compelled to pay 8os. per case, although the same article could be imported and delivered at the mines for 4os. per case. Owing to the magnanimity of Mr Kruger, the monopolists eventually reduced their charge from 8os. to 7os., under which arrangement their illegitimate profit still worked out at 3os. per case. I am speaking now of gross profit. The net profit is an unknown quantity, because the surplus, after payment of all expenses, was divisible between the concessionaires and the corrupt officers of State, including the President.

Passing from the evidence of scandalous extortion, I may refer to two or three laws placed on the Statute Book for no other motive than to intensify the anger of the

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Uitlanders. One of these—the Aliens Immigration Act—was repealed after a peremptory demand for its withdrawal had been made by the Colonial Office. Another is known as the Press Law, and it enforces, under a penalty, what is tantamount to a corrupt and intimidating system of censorship. It compels the author of every article written upon political or other matters affecting the Government, to disclose his identity by affixing his signature to it. Under the same measure the Authorities vested in themselves the right of suspension of any journal whose criticisms were unpalatable to the official heads. Of the Expulsion Law, little need be said beyond that it constitutes one of the many brazen infractions of the 1884 Treaty. All these things the Boers did with their eyes open, and with a single-mindedness of purpose. Their vicious legislation harmonised with the implacable attitude they adopted towards the alien producer, whether it concerned his pocket or his status.

As time rolled on, the Uitlander

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naturally felt that it was useless to deal direct with an Executive whose respect for International Law was in keeping with their oblique sense of justice. Widespread dissension had depressed and disorganised business, and but the slenderest hope remained of a settlement, except by an appeal to the British Crown. At the Cape, glib-tongued agents were meanwhile busy preaching sedition to susceptible Dutch Colonists. The Afrikander Bond aided the trend to disruption by ostensibly holding aloof, if not by other means. Call it conspiracy, or define its import in terms not so harsh, the result is the same. The proved unfitness of the Boers to govern on civilised models, their indignant refusal to be bound by their sacred compacts, and a knowledge of the tortuous methods used by them to force the situation, placed insuperable difficulties in the way of an amicable adjustment of differences. Diplomatic skill can and does work wonders on occasion, but to meet Mr Kruger with statesman-

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ship is as futile as to read the Sultan of Turkey a homily on righteousness. That is why Mr Chamberlain failed to avert war. If, instead of working assiduously for Peace, he had backed up demands with constant reinforcements to strengthen the South African Garrisons, probably not a sword would to-day be unsheathed. I do not contend that a permanent settlement was possible. Mr Kruger had been too actively working to divide South Africa into two Camps. Moreover, he gambled on the fact that if he could trick or coerce the Imperial Government in 1881, with a big army at his back in 1900 or 1901 he could secure any terms he might dictate. My own impression is that hostilities broke out much too soon to suit the Boers. They sought, as is their wont, to wriggle out of the sorry plight to which pressure from Downing Street had reduced them. But Mr Kruger was finally pinned down to the simple proposition—"peace or war?" and, thus cornered, he elected to play his last trump card.

## Chapter XII

THE Uitlander was always to be, but never blest. Do what he might to melt his oppressors into a sympathetic frame of mind, they were deaf alike to persuasion and threat. Subsequent as previous to the Jameson Raid, he patiently waited for the to-morrow which comes not. In vain did he look for a sign that the promise to "forget and forgive" was no empty platitude. No two races living in one country were ever divided by so dangerous an abyss. In Canada, where religious as well as racial differences had to be surmounted, the long-standing feud was settled without recourse to arms. There, however, the opposing parties were content to give and take. With Mr Kruger it is a case of take only. The principle of "compromise and barter," on which Burke says "all government, indeed every human benefit and enjoyment,

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every virtue and every prudent act is founded," is as foreign to the Boer as an essay on esoteric Buddhism. We have split with the Transvaal because the rulers of that country would listen to no other solution. Not until the resources of diplomacy were absolutely exhausted did Her Majesty's Ministers make a firm stand in behalf of our fellow-subjects chafing under the ban of despotism.

Mr Gladstone, in one of his speeches, urged that "Wherever your subjects go, if they are in pursuit of objects not unlawful, you are under a moral obligation to afford them all the protection that is in your power." These words are particularly apposite as a powerful defence of Mr Chamberlain's final efforts to improve the South African position. Equally do they justify the impeachment that the Imperial Government failed in its duty by postponing pressure until the Boers were prepared to resist it. Although a great deal has been said and written regarding the alleged needlessness of the war, not one of the dissentients has con-

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descended to disclose how the calamity could have been avoided, save by a tacit admission that we had demanded that to which we were not entitled. We are told, in effect, that peace with dishonour would have been preferable to war. The "irreducible minimum" put forward by Sir Alfred Milner was a crowning proof of the Cabinet's readiness to meet over-bearing injustice with excessive moderation. When, even, the climax had been reached, the door was left open for Mr Kruger's benefit, and he slammed it in Mr Chamberlain's face with singular defiance, supposing, wrongly, as a perverse few do, that he cared for or wanted peace.

It is impossible to urge too emphatically or too often that every step taken by the Transvaal Government since the establishment of Johannesburg as a gold-mining centre, was carefully planned to induce a rupture. Why did Mr Kruger request that the conduct of the negotiations between Great Britain and the South African Republic should be transferred from the Colonial to the Foreign

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Office? The answer is obvious. Had Lord Salisbury consented, Mr Kruger would have found himself in possession of a very useful weapon. He could and would have asserted, subject to the amiable acquiescence of the Imperial Government, that Great Britain had given him the right to repudiate vassalage. Still harping with unbroken monotony on the claim to independence, Mr Kruger declined Mr Chamberlain's invitation to come across and discuss in person the vexed differences. The proposal, he considered, was not in consonance with the dignity of himself or the Republic of which he was the man at the helm. Admitting that the Boers watched with misgiving the uninterrupted influx of aliens; granted they were justified in employing every legitimate means to preserve their internal control, there remains the fact that something higher was aimed at. The passing of reactionary measures, and the scornful "no" given to one and all who approached Mr Kruger suppliantly for modest reforms, were an

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integral part of the determination to sever the dominating influence.

At Pretoria, as elsewhere, it was evident that the iron hand could not be concealed by the velvet glove. The heads of the Republic certainly did not live in such an elysium of folly as to try and solicit the confidence of the Uitlanders by pushful oppression. But they had carried out the greater portion of their plans, and perhaps felt themselves unable to turn back.

The Transvaal, although covering an area of over 100,000 square miles, was never large enough to suit the fancy of the Boers. Years before the gold deposits gave them the handling of a revenue worthy of the name, they cast longing eyes on adjoining territories. In particular did they evince a marked predilection for the two countries which are now collectively known as Rhodesia. That Mashonaland and Matabeleland would ever belong to Great Britain they hesitated to believe. It was cut and dried that, failing Boer occupation, Germany

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might be induced to fill up the gap. Mr Cecil Rhodes thwarted both purposes, and his patriotism earned for him the undying enmity of the Transvaal Dutch. As stated in a foregoing chapter, Mr Kruger was able to realise but one of his territorial dreams,—Swaziland was ceded to him, though Amatongaland, separating the former from the sea-board, was securely guarded against Boer encroachment.

## Chapter XIII

ON my return from a visit to South Africa in August 1896 I expressed the view in the columns of the *Daily Mail* that every effort to further conciliate Mr Kruger would prove futile. It may be interesting, having reference to the course of events since, to reproduce the words in which I then summed up the situation.

“ In touching upon the prospect, it must not be forgotten that a very great deal depends upon the personality of Dr Leyds and the other Hollanders who are so closely identified with the Government of the Transvaal. The influence of this large and proportionately powerful coterie is absolutely paramount. Anti-English, even the matters of detail, it has served but to inflame the prejudices of the Boer, and to keep open in all their unsavouriness the sores of racial animosity. If by any chance the Leyds group could be deposed, which is next to impossible, hope

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would immediately arise of a speedy and lasting settlement of existing differences. Their continuance in office, however, must always militate against the restoration of tranquillity and harmony, unless Great Britain exhibits an unmistakable determination to have the gulf bridged over. The baneful work of the Leyds group is apparent everywhere. It is conspicuous in particular in a measure that the Transvaal State Secretary has just demanded shall pass into law, which is to be known as the Alien Expulsion Act. This is an Act conceived solely for the purpose of closing the doors of criticism unfavourable to the Transvaal Government. Dr Leyds is evidently not satisfied with shutting the mouths of a group of reformers representing the wealth and intelligence, figuratively speaking, of the alien population, but deems it compatible with the right of a little State, styling itself a Republic, to effectually gag all and sundry who openly resent the barbarous doings of Boerdom.

"Under the Alien Expulsion Act any individual in the Transvaal can be given fourteen days' notice to quit the country. There is no appeal from its application, and it is quite optional for the Government to declare whether they will or will not assign any reason for putting it into operation. Perhaps, with a view to

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creating a precedent, the Alien Expulsion Act has been brought forward without first being advertised for a term of three months in the Government Gazette, from which it will be seen that in pursuit of their bitter antagonism to British aliens, the Hollander wire-pullers at Pretoria do not even stop at breaking the laws they have helped to mould. So far as I am aware, an act of the kind is not in existence in any part of the civilised world, and that a Republic should be the first to set the example should prepare us for other iniquitous and unwarrantable measures in the same quarter.

“Mr Chamberlain is reported to have said that he will raise no protest against the passing of the Alien Expulsion Act, but that he will want to know the reason why if any British subject should be exiled under it. Presumably Dr Leyds is not concerned at the fact that so drastic a measure is an open infraction of the Convention. Indeed, the Hollanders in the Transvaal are perfectly oblivious to Boer obligations to this country, and yet we are asked to believe that there is no intention on the part of the Transvaal Government to do other than the right thing for the re-establishment of confidence. Reiterate the point as you may, it is impossible to overstate the power of the Hollanders in the Transvaal. They fill all the important offices, and they have fastened them-

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selves so securely on the good graces of the Krugers and the Jouberts that the reins of government are to all intents and purposes in their hands. Let the thoughtful reader inquire of himself what the prospect is with these men at the helm of the Transvaal Ship of State. Let him ask himself, in the face of the foregoing, what reason there is to suppose that with England resting in passivity the Transvaal rulers will alter their dangerous and ominous course.

"The future, I have no hesitation whatever in saying, will depend entirely upon England herself. Vacillation and false modesty, which have been Mr. Chamberlain's weapons heretofore, must be abandoned in favour of stringency, and we must strike the South African iron while it is hot. *One of our first duties, and it is an imperative duty, the neglect of which will cast a tremendous responsibility upon Lord Salisbury's Government, is to prepare ourselves by arming throughout South Africa, not absolutely with the intention of fighting, but to remove the impression in Boer circles that we are afraid to do so. . . .* What we want is some reliable and tangible evidence that the peace of the Transvaal shall not be disturbed by such studied Boer aggressiveness as has marked the present year of grace. We want a sincere assurance that the Convention shall be respected, and that Boer and British subject shall, in the terms of that

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Treaty be governed by the same laws. We want it made clear that the law-abiding taxpayer in the Transvaal shall be treated as a civilised being. We want an immunity from the wicked monopolies which now hamper the mining industry, and retard the progress of those to whom the Transvaal owes its prosperity. It is true we do not include in our treaty rights with the Boers that of dictating their policy of internal administration ; but we have the power to demand equality of treatment for Briton and Boer, and the right to enforce it. A visit to the Transvaal will convince the most sceptical being that there is no such equality. This being the case, it is necessary for Mr. Chamberlain to emerge from his diplomatic shell with all possible speed. If demands have no effect, and the English vocabulary, with all the force of language of which it is capable, should fail to produce beneficial results, then the one alternative would be an ultimatum. While matters remain as they are now, there can be no security for property-owner or investor ; no earthly hope of any settlement of this greatly mixed question. In short, the problem can be solved in one way only, and that is by a sturdy call to arms. Will England raise that call ? ”

Had there been this call to arms, than

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which there was no other panacea for the South African trouble, we might not now be at war with the Boers. Mr Chamberlain, of course, was bound more or less to temper his diplomacy with patience in view of the legacy of bitterness which the Jameson Raid had left behind it. On the other hand, the enormous sums the Transvaal was known to be expending on war trappings ought not to have deceived the Colonial Secretary as to the portent of Mr Kruger's movements. What the Boers have disbursed in payments of war material since 1896 will never be known. How much they appropriated for similar purchases in previous years must also remain a secret, for the official figures, after the manner of everything official at Pretoria, are in the last degree untrustworthy. It is nevertheless irrefragable that the Republic, finding in the senseless invasion of its territory an excuse for heavy expenditure on military account, commenced to import arms and ammunition on a large scale which was previously impossible for financial reasons. This admission does not undermine the

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stubborn fact that the Boer aim, no matter how it might be achieved, was to eliminate the Imperial factor.

Revolution or no revolution, the insatiable longing of those who organised and conducted the administrative programme of the Transvaal was to acquire military strength to further the bid for real independence. Not the Raid, but a growing revenue, altogether beyond the expense of government as it was conducted at Pretoria, furnished the incentive to arm to the teeth. From thousands, the income of the country rose to millions. The question was whether this accession of wealth—this unearned increment so far as the Boers were personally concerned—should be utilised to improve the unenviable lot of the down-trodden Uitlanders, or in furtherance of the scheme to make the Convention a dead letter. The position was little altered, except to our disadvantage, by the Raid.

If, when, the British troops reach Pretoria the official archives are found to be intact there will come into the hands of our military chiefs incriminating documents

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disclosing the falsity of the statement that Mr Kruger wanted peace. But no such good fortune awaits us. When the British flag is hoisted over the Transvaal capital the official pigeon-holes will be as bare of contents as the cupboard in the fable. Mr Kruger may be trusted to get rid of such very important witnesses for the prosecution.

## Chapter XIV

THE personality of Mr Rhodes looms large in the sequence of South African events since the founding of his new Empire. It is conceivable that his entry into Ministerial life helped to quicken the Boer hallucination of a great and panoplied Dutch Republic. A man of advanced ideas and indomitable courage, and endowed with a quite uncommon tenacity of will, he was bound to clash early or late with the militant President of the Transvaal. Wielding high authority, and each having his own purpose to serve, Mr Rhodes and Mr Kruger were rivals from the outset. The Cape politician wanted to weld the country into a congeries of States; his northern adversary had a different axe to grind. A federated South Africa attracted Mr Rhodes's fancy. As a first step towards the achievement of the idea he proposed the formation of a Customs Union.

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Mr Kruger declined to support the proposal, feeling, no doubt, that to join a South African Zollverein would be to play into the hands of an opponent who had already crushed Boer hopes. Besides, however, the fear of Mr Rhodes, by consenting to this Commercial Union the Transvaal Government would have shown compassion for the Uitlander. There were many objections to misleading the over-taxed alien as to the bent of the Government.

The Transvaal, had it elected to throw in its lot with the Zollverein, would have curtailed its power to levy prohibitive imposts, and consequently its power of acquiring so rapidly huge military stores. So the Customs Union suggestion was promptly given the go-by. But Greek had met Greek to some purpose. The unfriendly bearing of Mr Kruger only stirred Mr Rhodes to increased activity. Every movement of the Cape Ex-Premier was watched jealously at Pretoria. His enthusiasm concerning those comprehensive Imperialistic projects which are to connect North and South Africa by

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telegraph and railway, excited Boer nervousness as well as suspicion. The assumption is that, by some process of introspection, Mr Kruger became convinced that the Rhodesian protagonist was actuated by sinister motives. Be that as it may, Mr Rhodes had found a lasting place in the Presidential black book. His complicity in the Raid caused the Boers to execrate his very existence. Still, as fitting in with the Boer scheme, the connection of Mr Rhodes with the abortive rising was exceptionally fortunate for the President, since it enabled Mr Kruger to pose as the victim, rather than the perpetrator of evil deeds. The gravity of Mr Rhodes's offence in lending his name and assistance to unconstitutional agitation is not denied. The Rt. Hon. Gentleman has himself pleaded guilty. Furthermore, he has expiated his offence in the silent performance of invaluable work in the Imperial interests. If he had not done so, it would still be impossible to whitewash Mr Kruger at his expense, and if Mr Rhodes was a thorn in the side of the Transvaal auto-

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crats, both in his official and private capacity, he can scarcely be held responsible for the oppression of the Uitlanders between 1886 and 1894.

In the latter year Mr Kruger purchased 23,000 Guelder rifles, and despatched them with 100 rounds of ammunition apiece to disaffected Dutchmen in Cape Colony. The authority for this statement is Captain Holcroft, formerly and for a long period an officer in the Transvaal States Artillery. Here, then, is an additional proof of the sanguinary enterprise on which the Boers set their heart. However much calumny is heaped upon Mr Rhodes, however violent the attacks on Mr Chamberlain or Sir Alfred Milner, the truth stands out in bold relief. Imperialism had gained too strong a hold in South Africa to suit the extreme Dutch section. Republicanism was not flourishing as they would have liked. The wave of British advancement was ever rolling forward, assisted by the exercise of liberty and justice, and by a full measure of autonomous Government, which is one of

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the secrets of successful colonisation. In its onrush it swept away slavery, reclaimed barbarous tribes of natives, and changed the old order of things which had been a blot upon civilisation. They were no small sacrifices we had to make in the cause alike of humanity and Empire. But the "nation of shopkeepers" is not to be disparaged by difficulties, seen and unforeseen, from doing its duty. In the Anglicised portions of South Africa, as in other spheres of British influence, the fundamental principle has always been Government by and for the People. In the land of the Boers it is Government by the few in the interests of the few. The maintenance indefinitely, and side by side, of two such opposite institutions is impossible under any circumstances, much less under those by which South Africa is governed.

## Chapter XV

NOTING the contrast between the systems of government in Cape Colony or Natal and the Transvaal, the surprise is that Johannesburg did not sooner develop into a plague spot of disaffection. Dutch and English at the Cape are on an equality. Dutch and English in the South African Republic were respectively master and servant, the latter having to pay excessive taxes for being kept in a state of humiliating inferiority. The freeborn subject of the present age will not tolerate taxation without representation, nor yet race inequalities. The Uitlander was commanded to wear these manacles. He was the superior white man held in bondage by his inferior Dutch prototype. Although it is made to appear that he wanted to obtain the franchise with a view to becoming master of the Boers, he worked, as a matter of

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fact, for a very different end. The franchise, I am sure, would not have been accepted by a large proportion of those who were entitled to it. It was only made a basis of agitation when every attempt to exact pressing reforms had failed. Allowing for the paucity of Boers as compared with Uitlanders, it would have been excusable if, while denying to the new population a substantial political status, the Transvaal Executive had set themselves to remove the remaining disabilities. Great Britain must have refused sternly the request for Imperial intervention if the worst grievance of Her Majesty's subjects in the Transvaal had been a craving for political rights. The trouble, unfortunately, was much deeper seated, and the Boers had intensified feeling to such an extent by their quite criminal callousness to the needs of the disappointed aliens, that finally nothing short of a franchise concession was calculated to allay discontent. I have already referred to some of the Uitlander burdens; a great deal remains to be said before that

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theme is exhausted. The Education question, as it was handled under the direction of Mr Kruger, is a not insignificant item in the programme of tyranny. In the public schools the English language had to be taught homeopathically. These schools, bear in mind, were attended principally by English children, the Dutch attendance constituting but a fraction of the whole. At the beginning of 1889 Dr Mansvelt, the Transvaal Minister of Education, submitted a proposal to the effect that the Government would subsidise, or rather maintain, schools in which English was to be the medium of instruction, upon the condition that Dutch should be taught for one hour per day during the first year, for two hours during the second year, and for three hours during the third year. In the fourth year Dutch was to be entirely the medium of education, and presumably it was to remain the medium pending the Millennium. The proposal speaks for itself. Even to the ignorant Boer, it must have occurred that English parents would resent

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so unwarrantable a restriction. Had not the taxpayers of Johannesburg manifested the patience of Job? Could they be expected to preserve for ever a calm demeanour in the face of these continual insults? In the terms of the 1884 Convention they were entitled just as much as the Boers to take up their abode in the Republic. They could claim also under that Treaty to follow their peaceful occupations free from interference, and from impositions foreign to the burgher. Is it credible that in the City of Johannesburg, where sanitation is conspicuous by its absence, the municipal taxes should have reached the abnormal figure of £10 per head of the population! The Progressive members of the old Sanitary Board could not prevail against the weight of power asserted by the Government members and their allies. In the Town Council, which has superseded the Sanitary Board, the Burgomaster is a Government nominee, and to all intents and purposes usurps the authority of a Mikado. Clearly, all this refinement of torture had war for

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its objective. The singling of this or that dispatch included in the Correspondence between the Colonial Office and the Transvaal Government is a subtle device to cover evasion of the indelible truth. Mr Kruger procrastinated from year to year, widening, intermittently, the area of differences, and misapplying the country's revenue to aid his unholy schemes. His blood-money trickled through the official hands into numerous newspaper offices in South Africa and on the Continent. As regards English journals, and in spite of ugly rumours, there is no warrant for suggesting contamination. The Boers had their official organ here just as they had it at Pretoria, Johannesburg, and elsewhere; but the payments on this score cannot be specified. Suffice it to remark they were considerable, and, like the expenditure on "Military Account," out of all proportion to the resources and the obligations of the country. A just cause is in no want of support that can only be obtained by appealing to the cupidity of those who are lost to honour.

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On Dr Leyds's own admission, the mercenaries fighting for the Boers are the scum of Europe. With them, as with the subsidised organs of the Kruger band, partisanship is a marketable article, to be bought and sold as convenience or necessity may direct, and expedience demand.

## Chapter XVI

BY following up the official statistics of revenue and expenditure in the Transvaal, Boer supporters will experience a rude awakening. The figures quoted hereunder may be taken to approximate to accuracy, since they are collated jointly from the "Staats Almanak der Zind Afrikaansche Republiek," and the "Argus Annual and South African Directory." In the first place, there is the outlay on "Military Account" giving a total from 1887 to 1898 (first nine months only) of £1,554,187. "Special Payments" for the same period give an aggregate of £1,802,485; and "Sundry Services" are responsible for £2,152,901. Adding these together we get an aggregate of £5,509,573 as the sum admittedly spent in the preparations for war. How much more should be further added for similar payments made during the last quarter of

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1898 and thence down to the dispatch of the Boer Ultimatum, no one can say. It is fair to assume that the average disbursements for the three years preceding will not over-represent the expenditure for the last twelve months, in respect of which no statistics are available, so that the figures read £5,509,573 plus £836,203, making in all £6,345,776. I have not taken into account "Public Works" which in 1896 and 1897 rose to the abnormal height of £701,000 and £1,012,000 respectively. Evidently, these amounts were built up of expenses incurred in defensive operations. But without reference to the possibility and probability that even where other payments were specified they were dishonestly expanded to deceive the critic, a grand total of roughly £7,500,000 sterling represents the revenue Mr Kruger dissipated in war material to show how heroically he was struggling for peace.

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	MILITARY.	PUBLIC WORKS.	SPECIAL PAYMENTS.	SUNDY SERVICES.	TOTAL.
1887	£44,232	£194,116	£26,239	£86,786	£551,373
1888	53,508	165,905	48,201	91,923	359,537
1889	75,523	300,071	58,737	171,088	605,419
1890	42,999	507,579	58,160	133,701	742,439
1891	117,927	492,094	52,486	76,494	739,001
1892	29,739	361,670	40,276	93,410	525,995
1893	19,340	200,106	148,981	132,132	500,559
1894	28,158	260,962	75,859	163,547	528,526
1895	87,308	353,724	205,335	838,877	1,485,244
1896	495,618	701,022	682,008	128,724	2,007,372
1897	396,384	1,012,866	248,684	135,345	1,793,279
1898, first nine months	163,451	383,033	157,519	100,874	804,877

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Glancing at these figures, it is obvious, as Mr Kruger's friends reiterate *ad nauseam*, that the bulk of the expenditure was subsequent to the Raid. That is precisely where the supreme cunning of Mr Kruger is made evident. By openly squandering the revenue of the Republic in arms and ammunition before Dr Jameson entered upon his hare-brained escapade, the *ultima thule* of Boer intentions would have been exposed. Every care was taken to disarm suspicion. Although, however, the largest amount credited to "Military Charges" in any year up to and including 1895 was £117,927, "Special Payments" and "Sundry Services" up to the end of 1895 account for £2,502,232. Why did the Boers, or rather the Heads of the State, surreptitiously indulge in such military extravagance if they had not resolved upon war *à l'outrance*? Could they, I wonder, satisfy the inquisitive that the outlay attributed to "Public Works" from the discovery of the Rand was legitimately incurred in the manner nominally indicated.

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Indeed, if the “Public Works” figures were reduced by one-half, they would then, judging from results, convict the Transvaal Government of wanton profli-gacy—not a quarter of the money was ever spent as stated. Systematic fraud can be traced in every cypher in the revenue returns. Thus, the very witnesses brought forward in defence of the Transvaal are the best witnesses for the Crown. According to the estimated income of a given year the expenditure of the Transvaal increased. But the benefits anticipated from the ever-increasing administration charges were always imperceptible to the alien vision. The salaries of Government officials in 1886 amounted to £51,000. By 1895 they had increased eleven-fold, and in the estimate for 1899 they were foreshadowed to reach £1,216,000. The Uitlanders were no better served by the public departments for all this ostentatious chicanery. In 1899, although official salaries had exactly doubled in the meantime, they were no better off than in 1895. Altogether, a

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baser plot was never exposed. And what makes the conduct of Mr Kruger more execrable is the fact that he veneered all this wickedness with Christian-like adulation of Biblical simile, so that his hollow mockery might escape detection. Depravity of mind could descend to no lower depth. He promised reforms with the lie on his lips. He used words of honey while he was sanctioning deeds of oppression and making him ready for mortal combat. Mr Kruger had always been a law unto himself. If he ever had any virtues they were warped by the exigencies of his ambition to make of South Africa a large and despotic Krugerland. That he possessed a sense of grim humour can be taken for granted. The levying of a War Tax estimated to produce some £50,000 per annum attests to it, for it is seen now that the whole income of the Transvaal was made up of war taxation under various aliases. The burghers as a body reaped no advantage from the millions of sovereigns manipulated by the Government. And what portion of the

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spoil ever left the official circle chiefly found its way into the markets for guns and explosives, and into the purses of "friends," bought and paid for as the housewife buys and pays for the family provisions.

## Chapter XVII

THE memory of Englishmen, it is to be feared, is short. They have forgotten, it seems, the contents of Blue Books now covered with the dust of age. In these records there are instructive tit-bits delineating in simple outline the ability of the Boer to preach one gospel and practise another. His unprovoked persecution of the blacks until this country would no longer permit such injustice is an apt commentary on his treatment of the Uitlanders. But Mr Kruger's sympathisers would be undertaking something worse than a thankless task if, in juxtaposition with their excerpts from recent official and unofficial documents, they would quote some earlier papers. The chronic condition of the Transvaal before 1885 was impecuniosity. Poor in resources as in virtues, the Boers took to raiding and looting native loca-

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tions outside the Transvaal to make ends meet. They regard it as their prerogative. When Dr Jameson invaded the Republic their horror and indignation knew no bounds. By the armed incursion they suffered alleged damage to a respectable amount running into seven figures. The sting is, that what they consider sauce for the Boer goose is not sauce for the British gander.

They will not be proselytised. The race has been reared on fighting, and in his own humble way each Boer is a strategist. Unfortunately, he is also a stranger to truth, and deception is his most cherished weapon. There would be far less reason to credit the accounts of Boer treachery on the battlefield if the policy shaped at Pretoria had not so palpably revealed a marked penchant for the subtleties of artifice. As it is, the allegations of abuse of the white flag are by this time in no want of further confirmation.

In former years the Barolong and Moliti tribes of natives were the perennial prey

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of the Transvaal Doppers. They were rich in cattle, and the constant thefts of their stock by the peace-loving Boer ended in the inclusion of the Barolong territory within the British sphere of influence. It may not be generally known at the time of the Jameson Raid these natives were preparing to raise a force of 30,000 men in apprehension of Boer reprisals following the invasion. Cattle-lifting was not the only grievance of the aborigines against the Dutch of the Republic. Numbers were brutally treated, or killed, for daring to oppose the raiders.

Another sidelight on the character of the Boer is his execution of the Zulu Chief, Mampoer, after a mock trial. Cruelty to the blacks had no repulsive ring about it to the pastoral inhabitants of the Transvaal.

The late Sir Robert Nicholas Fowler, who was closely connected with the Aborigines Protection Society over sixteen years ago, stamped the Boers as a heartless people. As Lord Mayor of

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London elect in 1883, Sir Robert was approached with a suggestion that it would be a gracious and fitting act to extend to Mr Kruger and his fellow-delegates, who were then in England, an invitation to the Mayoral banquet in the following month. Sir Robert Fowler was absent from London at the time, but his reply is worthy of reproduction, if only for the moral it conveys. It reads :

“ DEAR SIR,—Mr Soulsby has forwarded on your letter of October 15th, and I certainly must express surprise that such a request should have been addressed to one who flattered himself that he was tolerably well known as a member of the Aborigines Protection Society. I can only say that nothing will induce me to shake hands with the Representatives of a Republic to which I have repeatedly replied in the House of Commons, in the words of Canning, ‘Its infant lips were stained with blood; its whole existence has been a series of rapacity, cruelty, and murder.’—Yours, etc.

R. N. FOWLER.”

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If the language used by the author of this missive is severe, it is none the less justified. I must add, however, in fairness to the Aborigines Protection Society, that although Sir R. N. Fowler held the views expressed in this letter, they were not wholly shared by his fellow-members.

Time has made no impression upon the Boer. He is still the autocrat of fifty years ago, and still nurtures a belief that he is under Divine protection. Not too soon, therefore, has the revival of mediævalism in the South African Republic been challenged.

## Chapter XVIII

IN principle, the oppression of the Uitlanders barely differed from the aggressive measures the Boers were accustomed to take against the natives. The only distinguishing feature is that what in one case was a study in trickery, was in the other an illustration of brute force. In the end, as in the beginning, could be recognised the immutable overbearing spirit of which the war is the outgrowth. The passage to any other settlement was effectually barred.

One of the side issues of Mr Kruger was to deny British Suzerainty over the Transvaal, and to point to the excision of the term from the last Convention as establishing the complete independence of the Republic. While raising this academic discussion, he admitted the inability of his Government to conclude any sort of treaty with a foreign power, except with the sanction of the Imperial

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Cabinet. A pretty paradox, to be sure! But it served as the foundation for an imposing superstructure—namely, an offer to submit to arbitration the differences dividing Great Britain and the Transvaal. In so many words, we were invited to accept the verdict of arbitrators, perhaps not kindly disposed towards us, on the question whether the Transvaal should or should not be bound by its signed and executed agreements. In all his dealings with the Imperial Government Mr Kruger strenuously worked for an implied admission that we were not the suzerain or paramount power.

The lesson of Mr Gladstone's mistaken magnanimity has fortunately not been lost upon Lord Salisbury's Government. Than the retrocession of the Transvaal no English statesman ever made a mistake so disastrous in its consequences. Maybe we acted imprudently in previously deposing the Boers. But in concluding the Convention of 1881, the Ministers in Office were, it is now plain, grievously at fault.

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Whether it be true or untrue that the threat of a Dutch rising prompted the great Statesman to meet the Boers half way, it is beyond question that compassion for them swayed Mr Gladstone considerably. He could not foresee in the early eighties the vast mineral wealth of the Transvaal. He could not have suspected that, as the revenue of the country increased, it would be utilised in the purchase of war material for a struggle with Great Britain. Mr Gladstone must have felt that he was acting conscientiously, not to say charitably. To the Boers he gave a form of independence in keeping with their expressed wish; to Her Majesty he secured suzerain rights over the Transvaal, affording, as was then imagined, ample protection for British interests. So far so good. Coming to the amended Convention, it is justifiable to blame Mr Gladstone and his ministerial colleagues. Between 1881 and 1884 nothing had occurred to call for any change in the agreement arrived at by the Imperial

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Government and Mr Kruger. The Boers were in no way hampered or injured by the incidence of the suzerainty. There had been no breach of faith on our part, and the agitation for a new treaty, although represented to convey an expression of the general feeling in the Transvaal, was but the voice of the restless President crying aloud for pity. The word "suzerainty" was too comprehensive to satisfy his palate, and the appeal for a new Convention was so deftly and so earnestly made that the crocodile tears were mistaken for the genuine article. Down to the breaking off of diplomatic negotiations, Mr Kruger followed the same hypocritical course.

In the abstract, it is beautiful to behold an insignificant pastoral people struggling for independence. The spectacle of a "handful of farmers" urged by purity of sentiment to defy a rich and powerful nation, would command sympathy and respect, even though it were imperative to curb their aspirations for the benefit of mankind. Mr Gladstone

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was most probably betrayed into the recall of Sir Evelyn Wood in 1881 by an impelling loftiness of purpose. After three years of masterly intrigue on the part of Mr Kruger, there came the second act in the then impenetrable Boer drama. As we all know, strange things have happened since 1884, and each event is a thread that must be picked up before the Boer Conspiracy is exposed in all its grim nakedness. The "handful" of farmers prove to be a formidable army. Their fine War equipment shipped to the Transvaal as "ploughshares" or "bibles" is an example of their innocence. Their engagement of skilled European Army officers and artillerists is explained by their love of frolicsome diversion. As for the thousands of mercenaries, Mr Kruger's devoted servant, Dr Leyds, engaged on the Continent for service against the British, they, perhaps, are foreign invalids to whom the hospitality of the Transvaal was extended for humane reasons. What could be more simple?

## Chapter XIX

THE idea is grotesque that in the vessels carrying to South Africa deadly weapons for Boer use were also conveyed conciliatory messages from Downing Street to Pretoria. How Mr Kruger must have laughed in his sleeve! What an excellent joke it must have appeared to him to receive regular reports as to the progress of the Boers undergoing a course of military instruction in Zoutpansberg, while he was haggling cunningly with Mr Chamberlain. Her Majesty's Government, in spite of bitter experience to the contrary, persisted in treating Mr Kruger as an honourable man. The policy of chance, which has so often swathed South Africa in blood, characterised all our dealings with the base clique of Anglophobes led by "Oom Paul." We never learnt to appraise him

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at his intrinsic worth, nor yet to estimate his power for evil as the head of a so-styled Republic gorged to satiety with boundless resources. That is where we have blundered.

Our mistake primarily was to view South Africa as an outpost of the Empire offering strategical advantages and nothing more. The weighty opinions of sound diplomatists like Sir Bartle Frere were ignored because they fell foul of the political propaganda of Ministers to whom they were addressed. We called the Cape the Cinderella of British dependencies across the seas, and we have governed it as such. The penalty of our vacillation is to be confronted with a plot to overthrow our position as the paramount power.

But we are at least free from the taint of inviting hostile Dutch feeling. Faulty as the administration of our South African Colonies has been in many details, Dutch and English have enjoyed equal rights. Standing on this common platform their interests were at once identical and clear.

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Does it speak badly of our laws and institutions, that they should have been capable of converting into a comparatively homogeneous whole two races differing so much in temperament and thought? It was left to Mr Kruger to sow the seeds of disaffection. With the gold he netted from the Mines he acquired a certain ease of action, and created the opportunity to embitter one section of the Cape Dutch against this country. The Transvaal Boer was by much the same exploit led to regard the Uitlander as his natural enemy. And, while Mr Kruger was vigorously stabbing England in the back, the Imperial Government looked on as complacent spectators.

Our defences at the Cape and Natal were always miserably inadequate. Even after the Raid, when the Boers had evinced a disposition to become dangerously hostile, we were able to command no more than 16,000 regulars and volunteers combined to meet an attack from inland. Reinforcements were demanded as much for the safety of Natal and the

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Cape, as a reminder to the Transvaal that we were able and willing to protect our rights at the point of the bayonet.

Allowing that Mr Chamberlain's latitude of action was narrowed down by the Raid, the rising of the Matabele at the beginning of 1896 furnished the best of reasons for increasing the garrisons in South Africa. The Government had other matters on the slate engaging their attention; but we may take it that their failure to dispatch troops was partly out of consideration for the susceptibilities of France and Germany.

It would be farcical, if it were not for the poignant sorrow occasioned by the war, that we permitted Mr Kruger to organise a powerful army in the very heart of British possessions. If there had been no more ground for suspecting the *bona fides* of the Transvaal than of the Orange Free State, a total force of 16,000 men was ridiculously incompatible with the protection of some 2000 miles of British border lines. What would have happened in India in similar circum-

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stances? In South Africa, somehow, we have always managed to do what we ought to have left undone, and not to do what we should have done. For upwards of thirty years we have endeavoured to rule that country by the diplomacy of drift. It is instructive in this connection to turn to a warning uttered by the Rev. John Mackenzie of the London Missionary Society as far back as 1871. It appears in Mackenzie's "Ten Years North of the Orange River" (p. 55).

"Is it best that Europeans in South Africa should be divided into small independent and antagonistic States; or are we to have in a few years an important and jealous republic bordering on our South African possessions, and extending from the Orange River to the Zambesi, with seaports on both the East and West Coasts? Would it not be better that there should be one large and powerful European community in South Africa, and that the energetic Border men should be held in wholesome

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check by the inhabitants of the more settled localities. And if English subjects, and the English language are steadily spreading Northwards in this Continent, from generation to generation might not all the provinces be united in one general Federation and Parliament under the Queen of England as its head."

The prophecy of the Rev. Mr MacKenzie has all but been realised. If, indeed, for Zambesi we read Limpopo, the picture is complete. There has sprung up this great and potent Republic, inspired with an inveterate hatred of Great Britain, and committed to the dastardly resolution to extend Dutch rule over adjoining territories.

## Chapter XX

ON circumstantial evidence, Mr Kruger is convicted several times over of treacherously plotting against Her Majesty. His supporters cannot adduce a shred of testimony lending colour to the assertion that he hoped to avoid a gory conflict. He could not have entertained the supposition that the Imperial Government would recognise the Transvaal as a Sovereign State, and, in the alternative, acceptance of the terms he offered still left war as the one solution of the trouble. Every law passed in the Transvaal was made to be broken by the Boers themselves. They demanded independence for their Republic, and refused it to the legal tribunals in whom the Uitlanders reposed their last vestige of confidence. Whatever the position of a country, it is a dangerous experiment to interfere with the cold neutrality of its

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impartial judges. By violating the cause of justice to the extent of permitting lay legislators to review and alter legal judgments, the sanctity of every righteous principle is desecrated. Behold in Mr Kruger the man who sought to advance his aims by this indecent method.

Mr Ex-Chief-Judge Kotze, an able, incorruptible, and conscientious lawyer, was deposed from his high office because he refused to pander to the degenerate tastes of Mr Kruger and his creatures.

The Boers had made up their minds to increase the tension by passing measures which were reactionary and illegal according to the Grondwet. Mr Kotze dissented; the remaining Judges were more plastic. They were considerably younger than their respected Chief, and were disinclined to risk the possibility of having no laws to administer if they should decline to allow a set of Boer ignoramus to act as a final Court of Appeal.

So gross an insult to Great Britain, as well as to the alien population of the Transvaal, was itself an unmistakable

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*casus belli.* The placing of the Judges under the heel of the oppressors, leaving no shadow of security for the numerous millions of sovereigns invested in the Republic, was a flagrant, not to say contemptible, breach of the Convention. Not so much as a protest, however, was elicited from the Colonial Office. The onus of taking the initiative was reserved for Mr Kotze himself. The Ex-Chief-Justice did issue a manifesto. He also threatened to appeal to Great Britain. To the regret of all South Africa he subsequently altered his mind. Mr Kotze is, as his name implies, of Cape Dutch birth, and Dutch and English alike respect him. For twenty-one years he had been a Judge of the Pretoria High Court, and in such great esteem was he held that he was said to be in the running for the Presidency of the Republic. The threat to lay his case before the Imperial Government, although not put into execution, is of cardinal significance. It meant that one who has served the Boers faithfully and well, and whose sympathies were instinctively with

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the Transvaal, sacrificed his honourable and lucrative position to mark his contempt for Mr Kruger's corrupt practices. It was significant, too, for its unequivocal admission that the boasted independence of the Boer had only a phantom existence. What did it matter to the aged exponent of oligarchism, the President, that his reduction of the judiciary to the lowest standard of subservience might provoke still one more mild and ineffectual protest from the Colonial Office? By fair means or foul the administration of the law courts had to be brought into line with the *regimé* of the Boer and Hollander charlatans at the head of affairs. Mr Kotze refused to prostitute his duty as an unimpeachable judge, and a man of probity, to the wishes of the political schemers forming the Government. He was, therefore, peremptorily removed from the Bench, without compensation, notwithstanding that the Chief-Judgeship of the Transvaal was conferred upon him by President Burger as a life appointment.

If nothing else in the eventful reign

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of Boerdom could be said to disclose the sentiments and aims of Mr Kruger, this solitary episode would brand him with ineffaceable guilt.

Just as the unoffending Ex-Chief-Justice was banished from Office because his manly defence of right was inimical to the repugnant policy of Mr Kruger, so the Uitlanders were to be kept in a state of political exile in default of war.

Mr Lecky has told us in his "Democracy and Liberty" (page 26, vol. i.) that ". . . unless the Government of mankind be essentially different from every other form of human enterprise, it must inevitably deteriorate if it is placed under the direct control of the most unintelligent classes." In the Transvaal an unintelligent minority has, since 1881, held the reins of government, and it has produced precisely that deterioration of which Mr Lecky speaks. The Boers disputed the claims of numbers and of intelligence, and the result illustrates the evils of this dangerous type of orthodoxy. The misuse or abuse of political power in the Transvaal was

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destined sooner or later to culminate in a general upheaval; it received a perceptible impetus when the administrators of nominally inviolable laws were by special legislation ordered to place themselves under the control of the Executive.

Doubtless, in roughly formulating his proposals for a settlement, Mr Chamberlain had in his mind the wilful subordination of justice which led to Mr Kotze's deposition. It is not difficult to imagine how Mr Kruger would have ridiculed a demand for the unconditional restoration of the independence of the Bench. That he would have declined it with thanks, and with a repudiation of our competency to influence the Republic's internal arrangements, goes without saying.

The Transvaal Executive could advance no excuse for their outrage upon that vital instrument, the Constitution of the country. It was clearly conceived and carried out to render the Government exempt from the consequences of illegal confiscation, and, by over-taxing the endurance of the Uitlanders, to hasten the rupture.

## Chapter XXI

THE question arises whether Dr Leyds, as constantly stated, did scour Europe in quest of a loan to the Transvaal. The point is seen to be of no small account when carefully examined, though in the confusion of rapid developments it seems to have escaped serious observation. Let it be assumed, firstly, that Dr Leyds was entrusted with a mandate to raise money ; also that the financial houses to whom he made overtures for a loan were as hopeful as ourselves that war would be averted. In the next place, it is necessary to ascertain why a rich Republic with an annual revenue of over £4,000,000 should have been refused the paltry sum Dr Leyds was alleged to be anxious to borrow. Was the security inadequate? Certainly not. Was there, even in the supposed remote eventuality of hostilities, any element of risk to the lenders? Certainly not. The

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answer to both queries being in the negative, we can only fall back upon the explanation vouchsafed at the time—that the coffers of Europe were and would be closed against the Transvaal until President Kruger redressed the insufferable grievances of the aliens. This story gained credence everywhere. It strengthened the Uitlander agitation for reforms in so far as it was tantamount to a declaration of sympathy with Great Britain. It gave the impression, moreover, that the obduracy of the Boer Government would of necessity collapse under the weight of European censure. Well, Dr Leyds did not raise the Loan. "No reforms, no money," was reported to be the universal response to his importunities. And so there is a savouring of inexplicable inconsistency in the rabid pro-Boer doctrines now launched from the Continent.

On the other hand, it is probable that Dr Leyds never attempted to raise a loan, and therefore met with no rebuff. The report of his strenuous efforts and failure to get money now wears the appearance

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of a cunning device to obscure the real motive of his mission to Europe, which may be summed up in the curt sentence, "war material and foreign intervention." If, however, it is still maintained that the Ex-Secretary did try to negotiate a loan, the support of the Boers on the Continent is unworthy of countries professing to foster those glorious principles which exalt righteousness.

The theory that the tale of his attempt to borrow was apocryphal is corroborated by the commercial aspect of the matter. A loan of a couple of millions to Dr Leyds would not have inferred the dispatch of that sum to the Transvaal. The money was not required, if at all, for legitimate administrative expenditure, but for the purpose of augmenting the war chest of the Boers, and Dr Leyds was no doubt prepared to stipulate for its disbursement in such a manner that the total amount should find its way into the pockets of the friendly people disposed to assist him. Germany, in particular, would not throw away the opportunity to enhance its in-

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dustrial progress; while France, apart from any consideration of trade, would not mind a trifle of two millions provided it were intended to benefit the enemies of perfidious Albion. But loan or no loan, it will be easy for the historian to decide why the Continental Powers are ranging themselves on the side of corruption and intolerance in the South African Republic.

The disturbing effect of a diminishing revenue, consequent upon the general unrest in the Transvaal, may have appealed to Mr Kruger as a reason for precipitating a conflict. The Customs receipts had been growing beautifully less each year, and not even the suspension of the duty on food stuffs served to counteract the shrinkage in imports. Here are the official figures:

	Imports	Custom Receipts
1896	£14,088,130	£1,355,486
1897	£13,563,827	£1,289,039
1898	£10,632,895	£1,058,224

A falling off on much the same scale was shown in the returns of Cape Colony and Natal. This widespread disorganisa-

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tion of trade in South Africa brought in its train poverty and desolation. It reduced to penury numberless individuals who never troubled their heads about politics or votes, and who cared not whether they were under Dutch or British rule. Consequently, Mr Kruger created two armies simultaneously—the one to fight for the consummation of his great conspiracy; the other to curse his name for dragging it to the verge of starvation. Serious depression of trade in South Africa is much more undesirable than at home, for there are no workhouses for the destitute, and comparatively few benevolent societies like those that do such noble work in our midst. Therefore the homeless, ragged, and dejected in South Africa are driven to desperation and crime more readily than in other places where temporary relief is afforded. To cope with increasing destitution due to political unrest is, in such circumstances, extremely difficult and onerous.

The outlook in this respect had become grave long before the war clouds burst.

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Mr Kruger had held office long enough to have some experience of the effect of political disturbances upon the welfare of the people. It is not so long ago that the Transvaal Government had to set aside £50,000 with which to provide urgently needed assistance for numerous Boer farmers who owed their sorry condition to the string-pulling at Pretoria.

## Chapter XXII

WITH poverty fast sweeping over the land, the position had to be mended or ended. The ebullitions of feeling on both sides portended but one result if Mr Kruger turned away from the counsels of wisdom. That he had been straining in the leash for battle was undeniable; that his yearning would be requited in default of a humble backing down of the Imperial Government was just as obvious. Mr Kruger perhaps wanted to test Bismarck's prophecy that Africa would become the tomb of British power. He has laboured in and out of season to encircle with an additional halo of glory the Iron Chancellor's reputation as a far-seeing statesman. But in spite of the skilful way in which the Boer forces have held the British troops in check, South Africa, at least, is not going to furnish a mausoleum for the ashes of Great

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Britain's prestige. Party polemics cannot alter the determination of the British people to extirpate for ever the evil influence of Mr Kruger.

The root of the South African trouble has been struck, and it must now be destroyed. All the elaborate panegyrics addressed to the Boers by the Manchester school of politicians will not avail to stave off the annexation of both Republics. It is as inevitable as the war was, and the demand for the heads of those on whom Boer sympathisers would father the responsibility for the present difficulties, is not less puerile than the suggestion that we should conclude a 'dishonourable' peace.

Red tape and vacillation of an earlier date are not unconnected with the cause of hostilities. Had we pursued a factious policy war would have come upon us years ago. A thousand pities it did not. Still, by what recondite policy the arbitrament of the sword was to be finally denied it will be interesting to hear.

The case for the Opposition rests upon

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a charge of culpable officialism, of which Mr Chamberlain and other entities are alleged to be the ringleaders. Most speeches condemnatory of Mr Chamberlain and his colleagues are seen to take their focus of attack in the Jameson Raid, as if that regrettable business had been the starting-point.

The fact, however, is that the Jameson Raid had its origin in the unrelenting oppression of the *Uitlander* for a whole decade preceding it, and was merely symptomatic of something much worse to follow failing the application of proper remedial treatment. As Physician-in-Chief to a suffering and helpless patient, Mr Kruger wilfully aggravated these symptoms, and his wrong-doing is just as wilfully forgotten or obscured in the heat of party warfare. The exceptional gravity of his offences in public and private life is shielded so that blame might be thrown upon other shoulders. This is no time for seeking out scapegoats. It is not a propitious moment for casting invidious reflections; but if

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fair criticism is to be the order of the day, it will be welcomed by the British race.

The anti-war party is practically divided into three sections. Number One comprises individuals who know little and care less about the cause of the war, but are actuated by humanitarian sentiments. Number Two is composed of Little Englanders wearing the plumes of patriots. Number Three of big and little politicians who place allegiance to party before devotion to country.

It is altogether immaterial whether the War Office and the Intelligence Department have well carried out the duties apportioned to them. The head and front of debate should be whether a friendly settlement of Anglo-Boer differences was possible, save by putting South Africa entirely at the mercy of Mr Kruger.

The actions of the Transvaal President from 1886 to October 1899 prove beyond carping quibble that he determined to cast off the shackles which bound him

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hard and fast to Great Britain. He himself made the remark, on one occasion, that the Dynamite Monopoly was the corner-stone of Boer independence.

This monopoly, let us bear in mind, was only one of the crushing imposts on the mining industry. It won the affection of Mr Kruger because it supplied him with money for war trappings when the legitimate revenue of the country would not stand a supplemental strain, and because, being under his immediate control, it was bound ultimately to afford him other than financial help. The essence of the Dynamite Monopoly was defiance and independence.

Whatever Mr Kruger did officially between 1886 and 1899 was intended to, and did contain, these ingredients in ridiculous disproportion. Here he was eternally declaring himself anxious to abide by the terms of the 1884 Convention, when he had already broken it times without number, and would not have involved us in a horrible war if he had not persisted in doing as he

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pleased, regardless of the limitations prescribed in that Treaty.

A country solicitous of its welfare does not, as a rule, mercilessly crush that portion of the population which is revenue-producing. A country placed as the Transvaal was could study its self-preservation only by fostering the friendship of a thinking and working community.

Had General Joubert defeated Mr Kruger for the Presidency, a stop would have been put to the reprehensible conduct of the Transvaal administration. He recognised, and was not afraid to say, that the independence of the Transvaal would be strengthened rather than weakened by the promulgation of imperative economic changes.

Mr Kruger pretended to believe otherwise. He endeavoured to obtain the respect and the confidence of the aliens by stealing their money and adding year by year to their disabilities.

Brushing aside such controversial subjects as the translation of this or that utterance, or the merits or demerits of

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Mr Chamberlain's conduct of affairs, the justice of the war can be tested by eight simple questions :—

- (a) Was Mr Kruger aware that the Convention of 1884 defined the relations of Great Britain and the Transvaal ?
- (b) Did he contrive to inflame racial antagonism by denying to the Uitlanders every civil and political right ?
- (c) Did he at any period from 1886 onwards manifest the remotest concern for the Uitlanders ?
- (d) Did he, save when force was threatened, ever admit his inability to carry drastic measures contrary to the spirit and letter of the Convention ?
- (e) Did he ever grant any but sham reforms ?
- (f) Did he ever redeem any of his promises ?
- (g) Did he spend in the purchase of arms and ammunition money which should have been applied to other purposes of government ?
- (h) Finally, did he offer any conditions that would have left our position as the paramount power in South Africa tenable ?

These questions probe the wound to its

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base. If they are answered truthfully, Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger stands convicted, not only of engineering war, but of organising a huge conspiracy to incite revolution against British rule.

## Chapter XXIII

WITH ample forces and military equipment, not only to suppress armed revolution within the Transvaal, but to resist a large army of regular troops led by the pick of British Officers, Mr Kruger rejected the proposal of a five years' franchise ostensibly on the ground that it jeopardised the authority of the Boers. In reality he rejected it with the fixed object of rendering an amicable adjustment impracticable.

Mr Kruger has what the phrenologists would describe as a pronounced bump of self-persuasion. Once he convinced himself that words spoken from his head would pass as the utterances of his heart, he was immovable. And since he possessed in a remarkable degree the quality also of self-admiration, we need not stop to inquire why he remained blind to the heinousness of his political programme.

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According to his showing, the difference between a five and a seven years' franchise was precisely the difference between the security and insecurity of the Boers. According to the figure cut by his irregular soldiers in the battlefield, his acceptance of either term would have amounted to a distinction without a difference. Mr Chamberlain was not unprepared to agree to a seven years' qualification. He only declined to make it a definite basis of settlement until he had inquired into the manner and effect of its operation. Anxious to avoid unpleasant discussion, the Colonial Secretary suggested the appointment of a Joint Commission to whom were to have been delegated the labours of the inquiry. Here again Mr Kruger interposed with a strong objection. He would not identify himself with an inquiry of the kind, and it could be of no use or significance unless conducted with his co-operation. The suggestion had, therefore, to be abandoned, and, as a natural corollary, Mr Chamberlain declined the seven years' franchise.

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There was obviously no malice in the proposal to hold an inquiry into the pros and cons of so vital a matter. Had the Colonial Secretary closed with the seven years' offer without being satisfied that it would give immediate and substantial representation to the Uitlanders, fresh difficulties must have arisen. Indeed, Mr Kruger purposely baulked investigation, because he knew it would disclose the utter futility of the seven years' compromise as a specific for Uitlander grievances. The Government is severely ostracised by members of the Opposition for adhering rigidly to the demand for a five years' franchise. But Mr Chamberlain is not the author of that plan. It was evolved from the mind of Lord Ripon, at a time when the South African trouble had not produced really grave friction. Briefly, the Colonial Secretary is vituperated for perpetuating the policy which commended itself to his political opponents as a cure for Anglo-Boer differences.

Cohesion of the white races in South Africa was always unattainable in the

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absence of equal rights. In spite of numerical predominance in respect of one or the other, a system of government giving to all classes equal privileges can but operate to the advantage of the people as a whole.

It is not in the eternal fitness of things that men born under the flag of freedom should endure a state of abjection such as was imposed on the Uitlanders in the Transvaal. In the special circumstances, it might have been possible for the Uitlanders to suffer inequality of political rights without experiencing material inconvenience or injury; but the elements of discord were cultivated in another quarter. They had no civil rights. They were the victims of humiliating legislation, and the administrative mechanism of the Republic was only set into motion to add to their torture. Their supplications for the barest consideration found a resting-place in the waste-paper basket of Mr Kruger; their remonstrances were met with polite and impolite snubs. Not the South African millionaires—who

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are unjustly reviled for urging us to hostilities — were burdened, but the wage-earners and producers, all good citizens, imploring relief from the effects of terrible oppression.

Bearing in mind that this was the root cause of strife, and that the conciliatory efforts of Her Majesty's Government to entice Mr Kruger to vary his dangerous course had no effect, it is incomprehensible that we should be asked to believe in the injustice of the war. The seeds of this great struggle were sown, if not in the retrocession of 1881, in the Convention of 1884; and we are reaping the harvest Sir Bartle Frere predicted would fall to our lot when he denounced in unqualified terms the reinstatement of the Boers. Sir Bartle Frere's opinions are seen to possess an importance to-day which was not, unfortunately, attached to them when, twenty years back, he worthily officiated as Governor of the Cape. Writing from Cape Town after the annexation of the Transvaal, Sir Bartle said :

“Any reliance on mere force in the

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Transvaal must react dangerously down here in the old Colony, and convert the Dutch Country Party, now as loyal and prosperous a section of the population as any under the Crown, into dangerous allies of the small anti-English Republican Party, who are for separation, thus paralysing the efforts of the loyal English now in power, who aim at making the country a self-defending integral portion of the British Empire. Further, any attempt to give back, or restore the Boer Republic in the Transvaal, must lead to Anarchy and failure, and probably at no distant period, to a vicious imitation of some South American Republics, in which the more uneducated and misguided Boers, dominated and led by better educated foreign adventurers—Germans, Hollanders, Irish Home Rulers, and other European Republicans and Socialists—will become a pest to the whole of South Africa, and a most dangerous fulcrum to any European Power bent on contesting our naval supremacy, or injuring us in our Colonies."

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As Sir Bartle Frere warned us, the retrocession has proved a colossal blunder. We have had to contend with every danger that he foresaw and recorded with a simple eloquence worthy of his unrecognised statesmanship. To linger over, and study Sir Bartle's words now, is to inspire conviction that no sort of diplomacy could have availed to obtain peace with honour from the Boers.

## Chapter XXIV

TO be absolutely fair, we must nod assent to the charge that the present Government has made serious mistakes. It is the fate of South Africa, or it has been in the past, to be constantly convulsed in strife by reason of inapt diplomacy here and at the Cape. Our blunders, in truth, have tended as much to the disadvantage of the Boers as of ourselves. The working of our Parliamentary system is, perhaps, not unconnected with faults laid to the charge of Cabinet Ministers individually and collectively. But the mistakes which have had their termination in war are those of Ministers who were in power years before the Witwatersrandt Goldfields were discovered. Mr Chamberlain's conduct of negotiations with President Kruger is open to reproach, only on the ground that he allowed himself to be grossly deceived

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as to Boer aims and intentions. In taking Mr Kruger at his word, the Colonial Secretary flattered his sense of good faith, but did poor justice, to his better judgment.

It would be a labour of supererogation to recall the numerous Colonial Office dispatches to support the desire—nay, the anxiety—of the Imperial Government to balance the long outstanding account with the South African Republic. We gave the Boers every latitude and permitted them to trifle with the Convention of 1884, because we felt it incompatible with the might of the British Empire to use coercion while yet there was a possibility of settlement by peaceful means. Surely, to interpret this consideration for a State held to be unimportant, as bluff, is to give a meaning to the term which has never been recognised. So far from seeking to annoy or enrage the Boers, there was extended to them the hand of friendship whenever opportunity offered.

Not the least deterring influence as

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regards Her Majesty's advisers was the knowledge that war with the Boers would arouse Dutch feeling in South Africa. There were ties of blood and of friendship between the Cape and the Transvaal Dutch to be considered as possible elements of disquiet in the event of hostilities. Mr Chamberlain had been warned that though we might conquer the Boers, we should forfeit the confidence of Afrikanders, who, if they were not in touch with the methods of Mr Kruger, sympathised with his struggle for independence. This forecast was not founded in idle apprehension. A great many Cape Dutch have openly turned rebels, and are now carrying arms in the Boer ranks. A great many more would follow the same lead if we faltered for one second in the resolution to institute and maintain a level of equality for the white inhabitants of South Africa, from Table Bay to the Zambesi.

We no more require the ascendancy of the British in the Transvaal than at the Cape. It was no part of Mr Chamber-

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lain's suggestions for a solution of the trouble that either the liberty or the autonomy of the Boers should be interfered with. Neither by word or deed did the Imperial Government give Mr Kruger cause to suspect the fidelity of their intentions. Nor did it require a liberal franchise to enable Dutch and English to live and work in union, and to co-operate for their mutual prosperity and welfare. But substantial representation of the Uitlanders in the Transvaal Legislature became imperative when the Government proclaimed through the medium of oppressive laws a wilful disregard of the London Convention, and a galling enmity towards the aliens. One does not need to pore over blue-books to ascertain why we have been compelled to rely upon our second line of defence for the pacification of South Africa. Everything that the wit of man could devise to prevent bloodshed was done by the Imperial Government. Unhappily, the key to peace was in Mr Kruger's keeping. By wanton aggression he compelled Great Britain to take up the

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cudgels of the Uitlanders, and this intervention, tardy as it was, indicated that the time had arrived for a balance to be struck.

It was necessary to put a full point to the sham reforms with which Mr Kruger attempted to drag a herring across the scent. It was necessary that the Uitlanders should be extricated from the clutches of serfdom, and given the right to voice their just grievances in the Boer Parliament. A five years' franchise would have met these requirements without impairing in any shape or form the internal independence of the Boers.

In one of Mr Kruger's speeches, delivered at the beginning of 1899, he said that there were 40,000 burghers in the State. A five years' franchise might have increased this roll of voters by 7000 or 8000, thus leaving the Boers in a majority of not less than 5 to 1. Why, then, did Mr Kruger flatly refuse the request for a quinquennial qualification? Let those who declare the War to be unjust answer for their high priest, the President

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of the Transvaal. He cannot answer for himself.

Ministers, however, are in no want of exculpation for the *rôle* played by them. The strongest defence of their sincerity of purpose—the best tribute to their unslumbering credence in a bloodless issue—is the fact that they were conscious of the warlike preparations sanctioned by Mr Kruger. If Mr Chamberlain and his colleagues had been, as some insist, the "dupes of a gang of speculators," it is remarkable that they should practically have invited invasion of British territory by neglecting to reinforce the garrisons of the Cape and Natal. For non-compliance with the "irreducible minimum" predicated either resort to force, or the surrender of the Imperial claim to paramountcy.

War from a humane standpoint is always to be deprecated. It should not be undertaken lightly or unjustly. It has not been in the present instance, and a contrary opinion must involve the burk-ing of irrefutable evidence. Not even

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John Bright, were he alive, could taunt Lord Salisbury's Government with prosecuting the war for any but the purest of motives.

## Chapter XXV

THE admirers of Mr Kruger cannot see any flaw in their idol. They have convicted Lord Salisbury's Cabinet without trial, and they shut their eyes to the very serious indictment preferred and proved against the Transvaal Executive. It is unjustifiable, they would have the country admit, to analyse and scrutinise the whys and the wherefores of the position. Of course, presented in the concrete —the Boers depicted as an insignificant body of simple farmers, risking their lives to become free—the defence of Mr Kruger might well excite compassion. It would, indeed, be a lasting monument to our disgrace that we were asserting *force majeure* to crush these “innocent” people and rob them of their Republics. But there are two sides to the question.

The Transvaal rose to power through the initiative of the Uitlander. It became

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rich by the exertions of its foreign population, and its rulers showed their appreciation of those exertions by subjecting the revenue-producers to every kind of indignity. Elsewhere in South Africa the two races, opposed as they are in sentiment, contrived to bury the hatchet of racial division. The Transvaal alone remained as a canker to eat into the vitals of peace and prosperity. British gold which filtered through the mining industry to the Transvaal Exchequer was utilised to build up, as it were, an invulnerable stone wall to separate English and Dutch as the poles asunder. The Treasury of the South African Republic was converted into a conduit pipe for the dissemination of disloyal propaganda in the Old Colony.

The success which had attended British rule at the Cape demonstrated that the principle of self-government properly and honestly carried out is a bulwark of immeasurable strength. We had witnessed the assimilation of Dutch and English as the result of allowing Cape Colonists to

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govern according to their own fancy, subject to Imperial veto. A still more complete autonomy was enjoyed by the Boers, and while the parties to the Convention of 1884 were placed under obligation to each other, not a single clause in that agreement threatened, even after the gold discoveries, the freedom of the Boers. They wanted more elbow-room. At the cost of very little trouble they got rid of any mention of "suzerainty" in the Convention, and they hoped by hook or crook to cast off the last shred of British authority. There were not a few reasons why, sooner or later, they should have deemed it possible to achieve this dream. Poverty, which formerly curbed their aspirations, was no longer an obstacle, and they perceived no danger in twisting the tail of the British lion while their saint-seducing gold sufficed for the acquisition of armaments and the conversion into rebels of Cape Dutch subjects of the Crown. The Convention, in their view, was comprised in that one clause which restrained the Transvaal from entering

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into a treaty with a foreign power. Our lukewarmness gave countenance to that view.

Mr Kruger raised the cry of "Africa for the Afrikander." He dinned it into the ears of all South Africa by penalising the alien within the Transvaal as no white men have ever been penalised before. Well may we ask where independence ends and tyranny begins if the Boers are to be held blameless. Further, let us ask, in what way the Uitlanders incurred the displeasure of Mr Kruger before Dr Jameson, emulating the Boers themselves, organised a raiding expedition. Dead to expostulation, whatever its source, Mr Kruger kept at high-water mark his unremitting oppression. He clandestinely distributed rifles and ammunition to the Cape Dutch in 1894. He intrigued with the Portuguese for the confiscation of the Delagoa Bay Railway—a line that now furnishes him with transport for food supplies and reinforcements. He tabooed everything British, even to the extent of offering a subsidy to a German line of

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steamers. He coquetted with Germany for an offensive alliance to wipe out the Imperial factor in South Africa, and freely distributed secret service money on the Continent in payment of press attacks on Great Britain. At home and abroad, therefore, Mr Kruger was in fact, if not in avowal, the arch-enemy of the British Empire. That he is a polished conspirator is as clear as day. No man working single-handed could have organised and perfected with such obvious dexterity the wretched plot to extort by force, or trickery, or both, conditions to which the Boers had no scintilla of right.

And there are still left individuals who perceive no shame in accepting a brief for these apostles of depravity. Mr Kruger's feigned alarm lest the Uitlanders by being admitted to the franchise would outvote the Boers, was a triumph of unscrupulousness. It struck a chord of sympathy by appealing to the higher instincts of lookers-on, who, for once, did not see most of the game.

The moderate representation in the

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Volksraad fixed by Mr Chamberlain as a basis of a friendly settlement, far from proving a menace to the Dutch vote, would still have left the Uitlander as a voice crying in the wilderness. But it assured to the oppressed aliens direct means of complaint and licence of action, enabling them to publicly air their countless grievances. The so-called provocative demeanour of the Colonial Secretary was really an effort at conciliation. Mr Chamberlain intended through the agency of the franchise that the ill-treated Uitlanders should make their peace with the Boers.

Mr Kruger had it in his power to render even a seven years' franchise acceptable. He could have said to Mr Chamberlain, "I will grant reforms in any way compatible with the preservation of the Transvaal independence, providing you agree not to press for such an alteration in the franchise laws as might subsequently give the Uitlanders a plurality of votes." And what is the moral of his neglect to take the upright course? Simply that Mr Kruger

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had laid his plans to drive Great Britain into humiliating retreat or into the battle-field, and that so reasonable a proposal would have sounded the death-knell of his conspiracy.

There is no other explanation. Twist and distort this painful truism as they will, the friends of Mr Kruger will labour in vain to give it a different complexion. What the Imperial Government had to decide was whether this country should shrink from the horrors of war only to face a greater calamity—to wit, the formation of a United States of South Africa under a Dutch flag. Standing between these fires, they chose, as the nation agrees, the lesser of the two evils.

## Chapter XXVI

IF Mr Kruger is not to be allowed to write *resurgam* on the Boer Standard, it behoves every loyal Briton to shun, as a hornet's nest, those friends of the policy of "Scuttle." For greater danger than may appear on the surface lurks in the cry "Stop-the-war." It is pregnant with the gravest perils. Above all, it is a gratuitous insult to an Empire whose watchword is "Liberty." No, the War cannot, and must not, be stopped until the *vierkleur* ceases to float over any portion of South Africa. Too often has this country proved untrue to herself, and any display of moral cowardice in her present trouble would leave her poor indeed in prestige and greatness. We neither sought nor wanted hostilities, and our remarkable unpreparedness for the emergency Mr Kruger challenged us to face should convince the most sceptical that we had to fight or run.

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The Boer conspiracy may not have been expected to yield fruit at the end of 1899 or the beginning of 1900. There was no time fuse attached to it. Mr Kruger rather hoped to suit his own convenience as to when and under what conditions the plot had to be consummated. Pressure from Downing Street brought about premature explosion. If anything could now "stagger humanity," it would be the consent of Great Britain to the cessation of fighting on any terms save the annexation of the two Republics. By the Boers we have been befooled from first to last. Only the solid voice of British subjects here and across the seas prevented the conclusion of a patch-work settlement of Anglo-Boer differences in October of last year. That same voice demands now that the fighting shall be continued to the bitter end, or, to express it in a hackneyed phrase, that the Boers shall be hoist with their own petard. The Transvaal must be made what Mr Kruger would not have it,—a free country in which all comers may breathe the

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fresh air of equality and justice. Under Boer domination it was ever sacrificed to oligarchism to further the bid for a wholly Dutch South Africa.

At no period since the transition of the Boers from national poverty to national wealth could it be asserted that Mr Kruger worked for peace. In truth, war was certain immediately the auriferous deposits at the Rand were known to be payable and permanent. From that very hour, the flood-gates of a pent-up Boer hatred have remained open, and a conflict was, therefore, only a question of months or years. Hark back to 1887, and what do we find? Out of a total revenue for the twelve months of £668,433, £157,258 was the sum spent on the Boers' own showing under the head of "Military," "Special Payments," and "Sundry Services," or, translated, for the purchase of arms and ammunition.

Now, in 1887, Johannesburg was a city of corrugated iron as well as of gold. Houses and stores were constructed of the first-named metal, be-

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cause the sudden influx of enterprising aliens necessitated the speedy erection of dwellings and of business places. If my memory serves me, a hotel in the main street alone had the distinction of being composed of bricks and mortar. The Rand in 1887 was a mining camp and nothing more. The minds of the Uitlanders were much too preoccupied with gold in its virgin or coined state to affect discontent, or even to recognise seriously the administrative shortcomings. How comes it, then, that Mr Kruger should have appropriated about one-fourth of the revenue for 1887 to improve the military position of the Transvaal?

In 1888 the disbursements in preparation for war were proportionately heavy, aggregating £201,000 out of a revenue of £884,000. Between the end of 1888 and the end of 1894, the official figures admit an outlay of approximately £1,500,000 in armaments and defences. But there are vast sums for which the Transvaal Government have not accounted, and these, presumably, were also

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exchanged for shot, shell, and cannon. The official figures show that from 1887 to 1898, both inclusive, the Transvaal revenue roughly totalled £27,000,000, and the expenditure £24,000,000. For these receipts and payments the Boers can only point to the possession of a huge arsenal, the object of which is now explained.

The statistics referred to by no means support the contention that Mr Kruger first commenced to arm on a prodigious scale in 1895 or in 1896. They only testify to the fact that the Raid made it safe for the Boers to disclose in part how the revenue of the Republic was being expended.

Whatever the friends of Mr Kruger deny, they will hardly contest the statement that the military equipment of the Republic has absorbed numerous millions of sovereigns. If they were to repudiate this they would give the lie direct to their esteemed comrade in the person of Oom Paul. So that there is common agreement as to the magnitude of the warlike

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operations carried on in the Transvaal. The remaining controversial points are : (a) Why Mr Kruger dissipated the funds at his disposal to attain military potency ? and (b) Why, after his contemptuous rejection of reasonable proposals, he challenged Great Britain to fight, and within forty-eight hours invaded British territory ? One answer covers the whole ground. Mr Kruger hungered for independence ; for the right to conspire with some foreign Power, as he conspired with the Orange Free State and with the Cape Dutch, to kill British influence in South Africa. It will be borne in mind that the oppression of the Uitlanders increased as the revenue of the Transvaal expanded. That is to say, the Boer exhibition of defiance towards the Paramount Power became more and more pronounced as the contents of Mr Kruger's arsenal multiplied.

We cannot afford, in all these circumstances, to let Mr Kruger again raise the question whether South Africa is to be under Queen or President. The conclusion of peace, with the recognition of

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the Transvaal and Orange Free State independence, would of a certainty lead to another war in the not distant future. And the racial antagonism meanwhile would block every channel of progress, and might even be the signal for a native rising. It is dreadful to contemplate such a calamity. The struggle between Dutch and British is in all conscience bad enough ; but if it also spread into a contest between Black and White, the hands of the South African clock would be thrown back for at least a quarter of a century.

## Chapter XXVII

ALTHOUGH it was far from the wish of the Imperial Government or of the people of this country to subjugate the Boers, the task had reluctantly to be undertaken, not in the defence of the Uitlanders, but for the preservation of our large interests at stake. The Boers had set up a menacing oligarchy, and they were determined to maintain it by force.

The formidable character of their death-dealing weapons, their superabundant supply of explosives, and their persistent insolence were not, however, the worst features of the situation. Nor was the venomous persecution of the alien within Mr Kruger's gates the real plague-spot. These were only the accessories of the Boer machinery which Mr Kruger intended should reduce to uselessness British domination. In the dizzy heights

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of his vaulting ambition he soared to the fame of an Empire-maker. That castle in the air has tumbled to pieces. But he will quickly rebuild it if consideration be given to the pusillanimous suggestion that Great Britain should reinstate the two Republics. If such a condition is to be the cost of stopping the campaign, Great Britain may say good-bye to her South African Empire.

Without stint or delay there must be universal denunciation of any settlement which does not deprive Mr Kruger and Mr Steyn, to say nothing of the unscrupulous Dr Leyds, of the power to work mischief, or to invade British territory. We are told that the way to lose South Africa is to annex the Republics, because, it is alleged by pro-Boer writers, the Dutch are unanimous in the conviction that this war has been deliberately provoked by Mr Rhodes and Mr Chamberlain as a prelude to annexation of the Transvaal and Orange Free State. This unanimity is evidently feeble, seeing that the rebels the Boers have

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obtained from Cape Colony are made up of the illiterate classes only. Very few, if any, of prominent Cape families have joined the enemy. They have no complaint to make as to the manner in which Imperial rule is exercised in South Africa. They have thrived and lived contentedly under the Union Jack, and I firmly believe that, if the offer were made them to exchange British supremacy for Mr Kruger's Dutch Republicanism, they would unhesitatingly elect to remain as they are. I speak, of course, of the majority, for if Mr Kruger had not encountered some kindred spirits at the Cape, he would never have made the fatal mistake of sending an insolent ultimatum to Great Britain. As it is, the Dutch in Cape Colony largely outnumber the British, and it is stated on the authority of a gentleman who openly espouses the cause of the Boers, that in the Republics also the preponderance of population is on the same side. Taking this for granted, the annexation of the Republics, and the institution of equal

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rights for white men would leave, as far as votes are concerned, the balance of power in the hands of the Dutch.

So that we are threatened with the alienation of South Africa from Great Britain, because we are determined to inaugurate a system of political equality giving political ascendancy to those who object to the change. What a pity Mr Kruger did not try to dragoon the Uitlanders in this fashion. If he had done so, South Africa would not now be shaken to its foundation by a bloody war.

The exhortations to reinstate the Boers are stultified by the premises on which the request rests. Annexation, the Anti-Imperialists urge, is conceived with the object of ensuring British ascendancy, and they tell us in the same breath that the Dutch outnumber the British, and would, therefore, enjoy political control.

Perceiving, however, the emptiness of their logic, Boer sympathisers argue that the war is unjust because it cannot be

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the idea of the Imperial Government to constitute an electorate composed of a majority unfriendly to the Crown. The inference is, of course, that we are fighting either for ephemeral glory or with the determination, after conquering the Republics, of refusing the equal rights which we have made the basis of our policy. Is it not ridiculous? Great Britain stands committed before the world to exterminate for all time the tyranny of one white race over the other in South Africa. She cannot turn back from that set purpose, any more than she can entertain for a single moment the proposal to rehabilitate the Boers. There is to be no interference with the principle of self-government. Whether the various South African States be welded by federation, or whether they decide each to maintain a separate and distinct existence, it is for South Africans to say.

The business of the Imperial authorities is to abstain from intervention save in the event of an infringement of Imperial

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rights. As a fact, it is to the benefit of the Mother Country that representative institutions should be upheld. Our quarrel with Mr Kruger was due to his imperious claim to govern with laws of steel ; to insist upon taxation without representation as regards the aliens ; and to differentiate between Dutch and English by making of the latter inferior specimens of white humanity.

To restore the independence of the Republics would be to perpetuate the abominable conditions which rendered war inevitable. We seek no indemnity for the past, but we mean to have security for the future. Our laws may not be models of perfection, because we are apt to forget that they tend to gravitate. But Great Britain has never placed herself under the reproach of oppression with an eye to political or territorial aggrandisement. In no other country is there such freedom of speech or action as Great Britain permits. In spite of insular notions and defects, we are sensible of the beneficence of liberty and justice, and

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our pre-eminence as a civilising race originates in a conservative adherence to these meritorious principles.

Liberty and justice are what we demand in South Africa. Nothing else can avail to tranquillise and bring into being an Anglo-Dutch brotherhood. And a condition necessarily precedent to the realisation of that desideratum is the removal of the Boer and Hollander conspirators, who, as chartered libertines, have turned South Africa into a charnel-house.

## Chapter XXVIII

THE most sweeping condemnation of the Kruger *regime* is the terrible waste of money which his policy of corruption and misgovernment involved. The evidence to be gleaned from mere superficial inquiry is astounding.

I propose in dealing with this subject, and in order to disclaim any charge of misrepresentation, to quote from an article published in the *Daily Chronicle*, and entitled,—“The Boer Republics.—Their Financial Resources.” That journal, which cannot be accused of excessive jingoism, states on its own authority that a saving of £2,000,000 a year in the administration of the Transvaal should be easy. It then proceeds:

“In his pamphlet, M. Henri Dupont arrived at the same result by comparing the expenses of Cape Colony and the Transvaal. The area of the former is 276,000 square miles roughly, as against the 119,139 square miles of the

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Transvaal, its white population is a third larger and its black population just double that of the Boer Republic. By eliminating the debt charges of both and the expenses of the Cape Government railways, which have no pendant in the Transvaal, he shows that for the year 1897 the expenditure of the Transvaal was actually £371,000 larger than that of Cape Colony. Yet, according to its size and population the expenditure of the South African Republic should be from one-third to one-half less than that of the Cape, which would mean a saving of about £2,000,000 for the Transvaal. Then there is another point; the Transvaal Government gets a paltry £30,000 a year from the dynamite monopoly, while the concessionaires make about £600,000 out of it. The latter have undoubtedly broken their contract, and its cancellation has been recommended over and again. When we assume the Government of the Transvaal we shall be able to stand in the shoes of the concessionaires if we choose, and £600,000 a year can be added to the revenue without the mines being a penny worse off than they are now. It seems, indeed, as if without adding anything to the existing charges a sum of £2,500,000 might be set free without difficulty to provide for the service of a war indemnity.

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"With reference to assets, the Transvaal owns 25,000,000 acres, which must be worth a great many millions sterling, the more so because the Barberton goldfields are on Government lands. Then it owns one-third of the share capital of the Netherlands Railway Company, and, in addition, has the right to 85 per cent. of the net profits of the railway after the provision of a fixed dividend on the shares. This right produced £574,880 in 1898, and is estimated at £675,000 in the 1899 budget. Capitalise this revenue, and a handsome sum would be provided. But to return to the question of what indemnity could be paid; taking our estimate of £2,500,000 as the sum available for the service of a new loan (at present the indebtedness of the Transvaal is only £2,750,000) it will be seen that it is much more than the annuity necessary to redeem a 3 per cent. loan of £40,000,000 in thirty years, which is £2,040,080. There would appear, therefore, to be ample margin for raising a loan of that size, should it be necessary, or even £50,000,000."

Basing my calculations upon an expenditure of £50,000,000, it is not difficult to show that the cost of the war could be provided without one penny of additional taxa-

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tion in the United Kingdom. The revenue of the Transvaal under Boer rule does not represent, I think it will be agreed, the earning capabilities of that country under honest and more enlightened government. An estimate, therefore, of £4,500,000 annually, can only err on the side of caution. But even this sum would suffice, as English and French authorities assert, to leave a surplus of £2,000,000 after meeting legitimate expenditure. Secured by the guarantee of Great Britain, a loan of £50,000,000 could be raised at 3 per cent. for the service of which £1,500,000 would have to be set aside annually. The margin of £500,000 each year could be appropriated to a Sinking Fund, and if it were allowed to accumulate it would swell, with compound interest, to £52,500,000 in forty-eight years. Assuming the desirability of gradual redemption, a longer period would be required for the extinction of the liability, or, as will be found practicable, a slightly larger amount than £2,000,000 can be appropriated for the purposes of the loan. Maybe, the War

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will cost £60,000,000 or £70,000,000. Even so the margin between revenue and outgoings should amply provide for a scheme of indemnity on the lines suggested. Thus, the whole cost of the hostilities would come from the mines through the medium of the despised Uitlanders. I doubt not but what they will foot the bill cheerfully. Freed from the influence of irksome legislation, and from the unwarrantable rebukes of a despotic government, they will settle down to their peaceful vocations with renewed energy born of release from the thraldom of the tyrant.

Curious as it may sound to the uninformed, it is nevertheless true that, if the gold-mining industry at the Rand were resumed with all the burdens it had to bear hitherto, it would still be better off than it was under Boer control. In connection with the Dynamite Monopoly alone, some £600,000 which has yearly passed into the pockets of the concessionaires, and the officials who shared it with them, would go into the public exchequer

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instead. But economies are possible in every direction, while British occupancy of the Republics would spell an immediate and appreciable growth of population, and, as a matter of course, a corresponding expansion of revenue. The Boers have always paid exorbitant salaries to incompetent officials ; they always spent with a lavish recklessness the money of the Uitlanders in arms and ammunition and not in proper government.

Is it not as much for the good of the Boers as of ourselves that they should hand over the reins of government they are incapable of holding, and which they have abused also for the prosecution of a foul resolve to propagate the doctrine of anti- British Republicanism ? Is it not, indeed, for the general weal that the germs of political disease which have for years, thanks to Mr Kruger, sapped the inherent vitality of South Africa, should be destroyed, though the application of a curative process should at first cause the patient to writhe in agony.

## Chapter XXIX

THE pith of all the trouble is, as I have before remarked, the attempted maintenance side by side in South Africa of two essentially inconsistent political systems. The British subject wanted to initiate, the Boer to restrain. The former was for progress and freedom, and the latter for retrogression and tyranny. Confusion was worse confounded by the ineradicable bitterness of the Boer towards the Briton.

Those who glibly charge Mr Chamberlain with responsibility for the war, ignore the years of patient remonstrance against the shameless breaches of faith and breaches of treaty which Mr Kruger compassed without contrition. The answer to the argument, that the oppression of aliens in the Transvaal was necessary in the interests of Boer independence, is, that necessity is the creed of tyrants. A pickpocket does

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not escape conviction because of a plea of necessitous circumstances. It is equally futile for Mr Kruger to urge in justification of his suicidal policy that it was followed to preserve Boer freedom. As we have discovered to our cost, the freedom he desired was a Dutch South Africa wherein the Sovereignty of the British Crown should be a thing of the past.

If Mr Kruger and his creatures had not premeditated war, and had not recognised its inevitability as the result of their long career of defiance, the Boers could have shown no such resistance to British arms as they are now offering. Abjuring every other consideration, the acquisition, by a dependent state, of military strength on so large a scale is irreconcilable with the hypothesis of its desire for peace.

South Africa, until Mr Kruger's gold gave him political leverage, enjoyed at least an immunity from serious racial strife, and when the hostilities end we shall again witness a gradual *rapprochement* of Dutch and English. We are going to save, not to lose, South Africa. Any relaxation of

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our hold upon that country would be a national disaster, the calamitous consequences of which could not be estimated in advance.

The Cape is the half-way house to India, its strategic importance is well-nigh incalculable, and we are asked to sacrifice it to the enemies of all that is true and noble, so that we might earn the encomiums of a few faddists and the derision of our Continental neighbours. It is nothing less than a request that we should abandon those glorious traditions by which the Anglo-Saxon race has faithfully served God and man. Fortunately, the nation has no appetite for this unpalatable fare in the hour of the gravest crisis in the history of the Empire. Both in and out of Parliament there is a solid phalanx of opinion that the cause we are defending in South Africa is righteous and holy. There is a determination, moreover, to support the Government in every step they may take to ensure, as far as is humanly possible, a speedy and successful conclusion of the campaign.

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Shall we halt and sink in the quick-sands of trepidation lest, when we are within reach of well-deserved victory, European intervention should seek to deprive us of its fruits. It is comprehensible that the foreign Powers might see their opportunity in England's trouble. France is said to be prepared with demands for concessions in Siam, and Russia for an extension of territorial rights in Persia. This story, incredible as it is, will certainly not deter the Imperial Government from destroying the Transvaal oligarchy, and from effacing for the benefit of mankind, irrespective of nationality or creed, the malignant despotism of Krugerian rule.

Just as Dutch and English were reconciled to each other before the advent of Mr Kruger, so they will coalesce under the benign influence of equality when the roar and rattle of cannon no longer reverberate over the hills and plains of South Africa.

The rallying of British Colonies to the side of the Mother Country in her hour

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of need is a striking demonstration of faith in the sincerity and justice of her cause. Never before in the annals of Great Britain has patriotism risen to such an extraordinary degree. Although party distinctions have not been forgotten, the sons of England stand practically as one man in defence of their flag.

British hands have made two blades of grass grow in South Africa where only one grew previously ; British enterprise developed its resources, and British statesmen delivered the native tribes from slavery. We found the Transvaal poor ; we made it rich. We protected the Boers and fought their battles to maintain the supremacy of white over black. We gave the Boers their internal independence under conditions which they have never respected —conditions which were so moderate and fair that the Boer failure to fulfil them stamps the Transvaal Executive as a treacherous and dishonourable body. In return for our generous treatment these simple farmer-soldiers have compelled us to take up arms against them in order to

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avert such a catastrophe as the formation of South Africa into a Dutch Republic under a Dutch standard.

It is for these avowed enemies of the Empire, and, indeed, of civilisation, that compassion is being sought. But the appeal falls on unwilling ears; for that way lies indelible disgrace.

In the fulness of time, South Africans, of whatever descent, will bow their heads in reverent gratitude for the prolific blessings conferred upon them by this great struggle in the cause of liberty and justice. There will arise out of the ashes of the war-stricken continent a vast home of peace and goodwill, where Boers of the Kruger type will cease from troubling, and Hollander and German mercenaries be conspicuous by their absence. To the question "Queen or President?" there can be, consequently, but one answer,

"... Nought shall make us rue  
If England to itself do rest but true."



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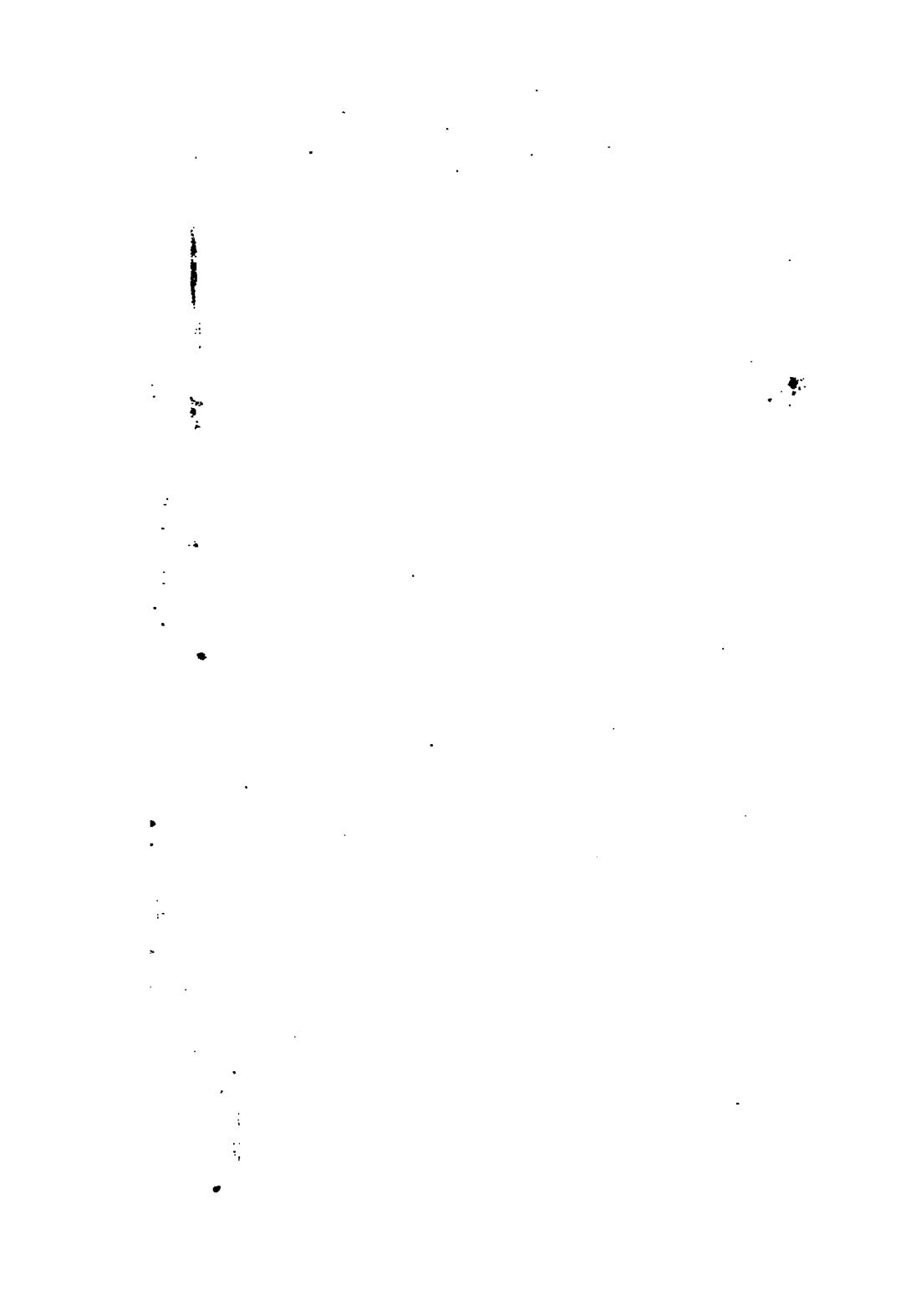
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